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A SUMMARY

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY;

IN NINE VOLUMES.

EXHIBITING

THE RISE, DECLINE, AND REVOLUTIONS OF THE DIFFERENT NATIONS OF THE WORLD,

FROM THE CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

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MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, AND CORRESPONDENT OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND BELLES LETTRES.

VOL. VIII.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON,
PATERNOSTER-ROW,

By T. Davison, Lombard-Street, White-Friars.

1800.

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A SUMMARY

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

VENICE.

A PEOPLE whoſe exiſtence as a corporate nation can be traced through an acknowledged antiquity of eleven hundred years may well carry back their origin to the epoch of the Trojan war, as ſome of the Venetian annaliſts have done; although that æra be long anterior to the time when, paſſing from the continent, they began to dwell in the fens of the Adriatic. A few centuries more or leſs are of no conſequence beyond the period of a thouſand years. In the ſeventh, the tribes inhabiting thoſe fens had each a chief who bore the title of *tribune*. They united with each other for their mutual defence, and elected a *doge* or duke, and a general council or *ſenate*. Theſe two unſhakable pillars of the republic have ever ſince that time been the fundamental baſis of the

Venice, at the bottom of the Adriatic.

government. All the other magiſtracies by which they have been ſurrounded are but ſubſidiary ſupports: to temporary circumſtances they owed their creation, their abolition, their re-eſtabliſhment; and thoſe changes, which were the offspring of intrigue, and particularly of public diſturbances, conſtitute the chief part of the political hiſtory of this celebrated republic.

Venice—ſituate at the bottom of the Adriatic gulf, in the *lagune*, a kind of fens of which the canals form iſlands—riſes majeſtically from the boſom of the waters. Were theſe waters too deep, they would afford acceſs to ſhips; were they to be diminiſhed by the accumulation of filth, they might totally diſappear, and leave Venice united to the main land: in either of which events, the city would be equally expoſed to the dangers of hoſtile invaſion. The Venetians therefore take as great pains to avoid being abandoned by the waters, as the Dutch do to avoid being ſwallowed up by them. They carefully cleanſe their canals, and have even ſubmitted to great and expenſive labours for the purpoſe of diverting the courſe of rivers whoſe ſlimy depoſits might form new acceſſions of land. Venice contains a multitude of beautiful palaces: but it is not the magnificence of thoſe edifices that conſtitutes her chief recommendation. A poet, comparing her to the capital of the world, ſays, "Let Rome ceaſe to pride herſelf on her "ſuperb monuments: in contemplating the two

" cities, the beholder would fancy that Rome had " been built by the hands of mortals, Venice by " thoſe of the gods."

The dominions of Venice include the Trevigiano, the Paduano, Friuli, Iſtria, Dalmatia, and ſome iſlands in the Archipelago.

Each reader is at liberty to determine for himſelf whether he will ſuppoſe the *lagune* to have been firſt occupied by the Veneti flying before the rage of the Goths commanded by Alaric in the year 421, or of the Huns under the command of Attila about the year 452. Conjecture points out, as the firſt of thoſe little iſlands that was inhabited by them, the Rialto, which is ſtill the moſt conſiderable of thoſe ſpots of land riſen from the waters of the Mediterranean, and afterward crowned with palaces. At that time they contained only huts covered with reeds. Their occupants, engaged in moderate commerce to which they added the employment of fiſhing, and equally unacquainted with luxury or ambition, were diſtinguiſhed by purity and ſimplicity of manners, by their zealous regard for the public weal, and by the piety and harmony which reigned among them. At the cloſe of the fifth century, their nautic ſkill was yet very imperfect; and they hardly dared to venture out of their *lagune*. The principal object of their attention was the preſervation of their ſalt-pits: " they," ſaid to them a miniſter of the Gothic monarch,— " they are your fields and your harveſts. Salt is

" equally beneficial to you as the moſt valuable " coin, ſince it ſupplies you with every thing re- " quiſite for your ſubſiſtence."—In all ages, that which ſerves to ſatisfy the wants of nature has invariably been the moſt certain ſource of wealth.

The firſt war waged by the Venetians, but at what preciſe period cannot now be aſcertained, was againſt ſome pirates at the beginning of the ſixth century. They acquired experience in maritime warfare, and roſe to ſuch eminence as to be courted by the generals of the Greek empire. The celebrated Narſes admired their poſition, and uſed his efforts to effect a reconciliation between them and the inhabitants of Padua who were jealous of their proſperity.—Rialto, as we have already obſerved, was the centre of thoſe iſlands of which the aſſemblage has formed the city o Venice. Its tribune affected perhaps a ſuperiority which thoſe of the other iſles were unwilling to allow him: but all thoſe chiefs, having equally degenerated from the virtues of their predeceſſors, gave room for complaints againſt their adminiſtration. The little tribes, therefore, over which they preſided, being cloſely watched by the Lombards who wiſhed to take advantage of their diviſions, ſaw no better plan which they could adopt than that of creating for themſelves a general under the title of *doge*, who ſhould be ſubordinate to the council of the nation; and they determined that he ſhould not be hereditary.

The

The firſt doge, elected at the cloſe of the ſeventh century, was John Luke Anafeſte, a citizen of Heraclea, held in general eſtimation for his prudence and probity. He did not belie his former character when ſeated on the throne—for ſuch may be called the ducal chair in a republic ſo important as that of Venice, eſpecially where this chief magiſtrate is decorated with all the attributes of royalty. His diadem is a cap, which, from its ſhape, is called the ducal *corno*, or horn.

John Luke Anafeſte, firſt doge, A.D. 697.

Marcello, who immediately ſucceeded Anafeſte, did not degenerate from his virtues. But Orſo, the third doge, forgetting that he was the governor of a republic, aimed at abſolute authority. The Venetians roſe againſt him, and he was killed in attempting to allay the inſurrection. A change was made in the government: inſtead of the doge, an annual magiſtrate was elected, under the title of *maſter of the militia*. Of theſe there were three, the laſt of whom, before he had completed his year, was depoſed and deprived of his ſight. The office of doge was now re-eſtabliſhed: and the choice fell on Theodato, the ſon of that Orſo who had been killed. Theodato was perhaps more unfortunate than his father, ſince a band of conſpirators put out his eyes without taking away his life. In his place was elected Galla, who was ſoon ſucceeded by Monegario. The latter being a harſh deſpotic man, the people joined with him in authority two tribunes to reſtrain him within the bounds

Marcello. A.D. 712.
Orſo, A.D. 727.
Theodato, A.D. 742.
Galla, A.D 755.
Monegario, A.D. 756.

of moderation. He paid no regard to their counſels, and brought on himſelf the ſame kind of puniſhment as had been inflicted on his ante-predeceſſor. The Venetians were more fortunate in their choice of Maurice Galbaio, who ſo completely won their affection and eſteem, that they could not refuſe him the gratification of aſſociating with him his ſon John. The latter obtained the ſame favour for his ſon Maurice. But they both degenerated from the virtues, the one of his father, the other of his grand-ſire. Their reign was the domination of two profligate and cruel tyrants, and was terminated by the ſudden election of two other doges, Obelerio and Beato, in their ſtead.

Maurice Galbaio, A.D. 764.

John and Maurice, A.D. 787.

Obelerio and Beato, A.D. 804.

Almoſt all theſe doges reſided at Malamoco, an iſle very near to Rialto. As it ſtood farther advanced in the ſea, in a war with Charlemagne the firſt attempt of that prince was made againſt it; and its edifices were nearly all laid in ruins. When the return of peace allowed the iſlanders to beſtow their attention on the management of their affairs, they reflected that the elections of their doges had hitherto been almoſt invariably attended with tumults, and now reſolved to make one with more orderly regularity. The ſuffrages were united in favour of Angelo Participatio, who transferred the ſeat of government to Rialto, which now aſſumed the name of Venice. The republic did not yet dare to conſider herſelf as independent of the two empires of the eaſt and of the weſt. Feeling the neceſſity

Angelo Participatio, A.D. 811.

neceſſity of placing herſelf under the one or the other, ſhe gave the preference to that of the eaſt. Although the doge Participatio deſerved the confidence of his fellow-citizens, nevertheleſs, to prevent any abuſe of his authority, two tribunes were aſſociated with him. On the other hand, notwithſtanding an exiſting law which forbade hereditary ſucceſſion to the office of doge, two of his ſons, Juſtinian and John, were promoted to it after him. John's government was diſturbed by Obelerio, one of the two doges who had been ſuddenly elected before Participatio. Obelerio now endeavouring to recover his loſt dignity, John took him by ſurpriſe and cauſed him to be beheaded: but, becoming himſelf the victim of another intrigue, he fell into the hands of the conſpirators, who ſhaved his head and beard, and employed him in the meaneſt offices of the church. In this ſtation he died. His ſucceſſor, Tradonico, waged war againſt the Saracens, and compelled the pirates to diſappear. Six principal families at this time ſwayed the city. The doge, by avoiding to declare himſelf in favour of any one of them in preference to the others, diſpleaſed them all, and was aſſaſſinated. However great the power of the families concerned in that crime, the people inſiſted that it ſhould not paſs unpuniſhed. Three magiſtrates were appointed to trace and diſcover the perpetrators, ſome of whom were, by theſe triumviri, condemned to death.

Juſtinian Participatio, A.D. 827.

John Participatio, A.D. 829.

Peter Tradonico, A.D. 837.

The populace did not ſuffer the criminals to reach the place of execution, but tore them to pieces.

Tranquillity being reſtored, the citizens proceeded to the election of a new doge. The perſon choſen was Orſo Participatio, whoſe family had already three times enjoyed that honour. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his prudence, his piety, and the moderation of his government. He alſo defeated the Saracens and the pirates, and aided the Iſtrians againſt the Sclavonians at a time when Iſtria did not yet conſtitute a part of the dominions of the republic. At this period the Venetians poſſeſſed the art of foundery; and from them the Greeks received the firſt bells which they uſed in their churches. The reign of John Participatio the ſon of Orſo was, as it were, intermittent. Obliged by bad health to vacate the ducal throne, he reſigned it to his brother Peter, who dying, he reſumed his ſeat, and ſhared it with his ſurviving brother Orſo. They both voluntarily deſcended from it, and yielded it to Peter Candiano, who, after having enjoyed his dignity during ſix months, was killed in a battle fought againſt the pirates. John Participatio was again prevailed on to reſume the reins of government: he undertook the charge, which he transferred, at the expiration of half a year, to the hands of Peter Tribuno. This new doge, by means of chains and ſtacadoes planted in the *lagune*, ſecured the city againſt the inroads of

Orſo Participato, A.D. 864.

John Participatio, A.D. 881.

Peter Candiano. A.D. 887.

John Participatio, A.D. 887.

Peter Tribuno, A.D. 888.

the pirates. He alſo drove to a diſtance from it the Hungarians who were ravaging Italy, and reſigned his life after a glorious adminiſtration of twenty-three years. Orſo Participatio, who ſucceeded him, thought it proper to place an interval between the laborious toils of government, and the period of his exiſtence. He abdicated the ducal authority in his old age, and terminated his days in a monaſtery.

Orſo Participatio, A.D. 912.

The name of Peter Candiano his ſucceſſor, the ſon of him whoſe life had been cut ſhort by a glorious death in combating for his country, is connected with a feſtival which has long been celebrated. Purſuant to an eſtabliſhed uſage, the marriages of the principal citizens were performed on the eve of Candlemas-day, in a church to which the approach lay through the lagune. Appriſed of that cuſtom, a band of pirates conceal themſelves in ambuſcade, watch the progreſs of the company, ruſh upon the new-married folks, and carry them off with all their jewels. The doge immediately collects as many perſons as he can find at hand, ruſhes on board a veſſel, purſues the raviſhers, ſurpriſes them in the act of dividing their booty, ſuddenly aſſails them, makes a great carnage among their number, and conducts back to Venice the captives and their treaſures. In commemoration of this exploit, a feſtival was inſtituted, under the name of the Feaſt of the married folks.

Peter Candiano II. A.D. 932.

Peter Badoer, A.D. 939.

Peter Badoer was of the Participatio family. The branch from which he was ſprung had aſſumed that ſurname under the adminiſtration of Orſo, his ante-predeceſſor, who bore it. No remarkable event occurred during his reign, which conſequently was peaceable.

Peter Candiano III. A.D. 942.

Peter Candiano III. impoſed a tribute on the Narentines, who till then had been a horde of ungovernable pirates. About his time we may date the appearance of the firſt Venetian coins. His ſon, who bore the ſame name as he, weary of ſubjection to his father's authority, revolted againſt him: whereupon the people and the clergy were ſo fired with indignation at his ingratitude, that they bound themſelves by an oath never to acknowledge him as doge, either during the life or after the death of his father. This excluſion did not diſconcert the rebel, but, on the contrary, rendered him more active in waging war againſt his country. The father periſhed the victim of his own grief on the occaſion: but the obſtinacy of his ſon was finally crowned with ſucceſs.

Peter Candiano IV. A.D. 959.

Notwithſtanding the oaths by which he was to have been forever excluded from the ſtation held by his father, Peter Candiano, the fourth of the name, ſucceeded to the ducal throne. He had been a bad ſon; and he ſhowed himſelf equally bad as a huſband and a father. Diſguſted with his wife, he divorced her, and compelled her to become a nun. A ſon, whoſe merit gave him umbrage, he forced to enter into holy orders. He now gave a

looſe rein to all his vicious inclinations, aimed at deſpotic power, and ſurrounded his perſon with a guard of foreigners. This precaution, however, inſtead of intimidating the people, warned them of the danger which they had to apprehend for their liberty. They ruſhed in crowds to the ducal palace, and, being unable to force the gates, ſet fire to it. The doge ran from place to place, and at length reached a part where he found himſelf hemmed in between the flames and the infuriate populace. He entreated their mercy, at leaſt toward his ſon, a child of tender age, whom he held in his arms. The multitude exclaimed in the accents of indignant rage, "Periſh the tyrant!" maſſacred the father and the ſon, and caſt forth their bodies on the lay-ſtall.

An excellent choice had been made in the perſon of Peter Urſeolo, diſtinguiſhed by juſtice, generoſity, and purity of manners: but a miſtaken piety deprived the Venetians of the advantage of his virtues. An abbot, who had come from Rouſillon to viſit the body of Saint Marc at Veniſe, ſo ſucceſsfully inſpired the doge with a diſguſt of the world and a love of retirement, that, after a year ſpent in maturing his reſolutions, and adopting every precautionary meaſure to prevent his abdication from becoming prejudicial to his ſubjects, Urſeolo, without giving the ſlighteſt intimation to his wife or children or ſervants, privately withdrew by night from his palace, and ſhut himſelf up in a

Peter Urſeolo, A.D. 976.

convent, where he lived nineteen years. His fuc-
Vitalis Candiano, A.D. 979. ceſſor, Vitalis Candiano, aſſumed alſo the monaſtic habit; but this happened during a fit of illneſs, and
Tribuno. he immediately died. Tribuno, attacked by the ſame malady, alſo took the cowl. It is ſuſpected, however, that this ſtep was not altogether voluntary on the part of the latter, but that he was forced to it becauſe he was not found to poſſeſs the talents requiſite to re-eſtabliſh peace in the city.

Venice was at this time diſturbed by the pretenſions and rivality of ſeveral families, among whom the Calopiini and the Moroſini were the moſt con-
Peter Urſeolo II. A.D. 991. ſpicuous. In Urſeolo II. was found the man whom the public exigencies called for, as well to repreſs the buſy factioniſts at home, as to make the republic flouriſh abroad. He extended the Venetian commerce through all Greece, to Syria, to Egypt, and obtained, both from the emperors and the ſoldans, the neceſſary privileges and exemptions in favour of merchants. Urſeolo added Iſtria and Dalmatia to the Venetian dominions, ſubjugated the Narentines, and introduced into the continental dependencies of the republic that kind of government which has prevailed ſince his time. This merit gained him the eſteem of foreign nations: and the emperor Otho paid him a friendly viſit. The doge was deſirous of having his ſon John aſſociated with him in the government: the Venetians gratified his wiſh; but the young doge died before his father.

He was ſucceeded by another of his ſons, named Otho, who brought to the ducal chair the pleaſing promiſe of perpetuating his father's virtues. While he was realiſing the hopes he had excited, a band of conſpirators ſeiſed him, cut off his beard, and baniſhed him to Conſtantinople. The choice now fell on a perſon of their faction, Centranigo, called alſo Barbolano, who, in his turn, was ſhorn by a more powerful faction, and confined in a monaſtery. A deputation was ſent to Conſtantinople to redemand Otho Urſeolo: but he was dead. Dominic Urſeolo, one of his relatives, thinking the name which he bore was ſufficient to qualify him for the ſucceſſion, boldly uſurped the ducal throne. But being attacked by the faction which had elevated Centranigo to that eminence, he was driven to flight. At the time when Otho Urſeolo was tranſported to Conſtantinople, Dominic Flabenico had flattered himſelf with the hope of filling the vacant ſeat. He was not diſappointed of his wiſhes after the depoſition of Centranigo, and the expulſion of Dominic Urſeolo. He ſeems to have foſtered a rancorous hatred of that family, one of the moſt illuſtrious in the city: for he cauſed them to be baniſhed, and pronounced forever fallen from their honours, rights, and prerogatives—a diſgrace under which they have been ſuffered to continue down to the preſent times, notwithſtanding the ſervices rendered to the ſtate by Peter Urſeolo. It appears, however, that there were ſeveral branches

Otho Urſeolo, A.D. 1009.

Peter Centranigo, or Barbolano, A.D. 1026.

Dominic Urſeolo, A.D. 1032.

Dominic Flabenico, A.D. 1042.

of the Urſeolo family, and that they were not all involved in the ſame ignominy. Under the adminiſtration of Flabenico, it was ordained that the dangerous practice of aſſociating in the government the ſons or brethren or other relatives of the doge ſhould be forever aboliſhed. The decree enacted on this occaſion has become one of the fundamental laws of the ſtate.

Dominic Contarini, A.D. 1043.

Under Dominic Contarini his ſucceſſor, was terminated the diſpute between the patriarchs of Aquileia and Grado, which had often diſturbed the tranquillity of the republic. The latter was releaſed from dependency on the former, and afterward aſſumed the title of patriarch of Venice. Dominic Silvio, elected in the room of Contarini, was unfortunate in his oppoſition to the Normans, who extended their predatory excurſions to the fartheſt receſſes of the Mediterranean. Vitalis Faliero took advantage of the unpopularity brought upon Silvio by his ill ſucceſſes, to procure his depoſition, and his own election in his place. During the reign of Vitalis Michaeli who ſucceeded him, began the great armaments of the Venetians on occaſion of the cruſades, and their fine eſtabliſhments on the coaſts of Aſia, which were the reſult and the reward of thoſe enterpriſes, to ſay nothing of the immenſe gains accruing from freight, and the profits of their commerce. They were now ſeen to diſplay their banners abroad, and conquered the Piſans and Ferrareſe. To the defeat of theſe rivals,

Dominic Silvio, A.D. 1071.

Vitalis Faliero, A.D. 1084.

Vitalis Michaeli, A.D. 1096.

Odelufo Faliero added that of the Paduans. He was not ſo ſucceſsful againſt the Hungarians, who had invaded Dalmatia: but though he did not reap the palm of victory, yet, falling in the field of battle, he won an honourable wreath of cypreſs to decorate his tomb. Odelufo Faliero, A. D. 1102.

Dominic Micheli paſſed over in perſon to the Eaſt. His voyage was not unproductive either of glory or advantage to the Venetians. He obtained great privileges in Jeruſalem, and the property of one third of Aſcalon. This doge carried his victorious arms to Rhodes, Chio, Samos, and other Grecian iſles on the coaſt of the Morea, where he ſecurely eſtabliſhed himſelf. His ſon-in-law, Peter Polani followed up his exploits. Under him, the Venetians humbled the Paduans, and had the honour of giving aſſiſtance to the Greek emperors, under whoſe ſceptre they had formerly bowed as ſubjects. This alliance continued under Dominic Moroſini: but the proſperity of the Venetians, and the extent of their Aſiatic commerce, gave umbrage to the emperor Emanuel Comnenus, during the adminiſtration of Vitalis Michaeli II. The Greek called in the aid of fraud to deceive the Venetian, who, with unſuſpecting good-faith, liſtened to his inſidious propoſals of peace. The doge had the mortification of ſeeing deſtroyed by the artifice of Comnenus one of the fineſt fleets that the Venetians had ever equipped. The republicans did not pardon him for having ſuffered himſelf to be deceived: on. Dominic Micheli, A. D. 1117. Peter Polani, A.D.1130. Dominic Moroſini, A.D. 1148. Vitalis Michaeli II. A.D. 1156.

his return the people loaded him with insults, and he was killed in the tumult.

This crime, of which other examples had before occurred, gave occasion to the prudent part of the community to think of repressing the extreme licentiousness of the multitude by diminishing their influence in public affairs. There was at Venice only one permanent tribunal, which, from its being composed of forty persons, was called the *Quarantia*. On the death of Michaeli, that tribunal provisionally assumed the reins of government, and established a grand council of chosen citizens to supply the place of the general assemblies, which were represented to the people as too tumultuous. This grand council retained the name of *Pregadi*, which had been given to the general assemblies. The Quarantia created also a *senate*, of which the members were selected from that grand council: they changed the usual mode of electing the doge; and they gave him six counsellors who were to watch his conduct. Upon this footing Sebastian Ziani was elected. On his death, the form of election, which indeed had been announced as merely provisional, again underwent an alteration. The ducal cap was conferred on Orso Malipiero, who had declined it before Ziani was elected. His attention was wholly devoted to the good of the republic; and he willingly concurred in the appointment of new magistrates of police calculated to establish order and tranquillity. Orso abdicated

Sebastian Ziani, A. D. 1173.

Orso Malipiero, A. D. 1179.

his office, and embraced the monaſtic profeſſion, in which he continued till his death. Nearly about this time the body of the government aſſumed the title of *Signoria* (lordſhip).

Among thoſe individuals whoſe merit might entitle them to aſpire to the dignity of doge, was Henry Dandolo: but he was blind. It is true, the cauſe of his blindneſs naturally operated in recommendation of him to his electors, ſince it was by the perfidious cruelty of the emperor Emanuel that he had been deprived of his ſight while embaſſador of the republic at Conſtantinople. In him the penetration of a vigorous mind amply compenſated for corporeal cæcity; nor did the republic ever act a more brilliant part than under his adminiſtration. He enjoyed the gratification of entering, crowned with victory and conqueſt, that capital of the Greek empire in which he had ſuffered ſo barbarous treatment. He even refuſed to accept the ſovereignty of it: but he took advantage of the aſcendency which his merit and his ſervices gave him over the cruſading princes, to procure conſiderable advantages for his own republic. Henry Dandolo, A.D. 1192.

On his deceaſe, a new and very uſeful magiſtracy was created, whoſe members, ſix in number, and ſtyled *Correctors*, were commiſſioned to inquire into the abuſes which might have crept in during the adminiſtration of the late doge, and to make report of them to the ſenate, that the latter might correct them. Similar magiſtrates are always appointed

during an interregnum. That which followed the death of Dandolo was terminated by the election of Peter Ziani, who put the Venetians in poſſeſſion of the iſle of Candia, Corfu, and part of Negropont. Candia afforded employment to its conquerors in quelling the revolts of which it was the theatre: nor were they ſuffered to be idle on the ſide of the Genoeſe and the Paduans. Venice triumphed over her rivals, though Ziani, better qualified for negotiation than warfare, contributed little to her victories. The ſame remark is applicable to his ſucceſſor, James Thiepolo. They both abdicated their authority for the ſake of taſting the ſweets of retirement, which neither enjoyed during a longer period than a few months.

Peter Zian, A.D. 1205.

James Thiepolo, A.D. 1229.

Under the adminiſtration of Marino Moroſini, and that of Riniero Zeno, the republic was engaged in a war with Ezzelino, tyrant of Lombardy, who converted the cities of Padua, Verona, and Vicenza, into ſcenes of horror. He was particularly incenſed againſt the Paduans, of whom as many as fell into his power he maimed by the amputation of their hands and feet. At length taken priſoner in his turn by the Cremoneſe and Mantuans in conjunction, he was ſuffered to periſh in a dungeon without any additional puniſhment. Under thoſe ſame doges, the Genoeſe and Venetians came to a trial of ſtrength with each other. It appears that the latter wiſhed excluſively to engroſs the Levant trade: but, in conſequence of an accommodation

Marino Moroſini, A.D. 1249.

Riniero Zeno, A.D. 1252.

between the parties, the Genoeſe were admitted to a participation of it. Laurence Thiepolo, ſucceſſor to Riniero Zeno, impelled by a proud aſpiring diſpoſition, or perhaps only actuated by the deſire of giving ſtability to his power, married a princeſs himſelf, and cauſed one of his ſons to marry another. On this occaſion the ſenate paſſed a law prohibiting the future doges either themſelves to marry, or to ſuffer their ſons to marry, foreign women. By another law, enacted under Contarini, the entrance of the great council was barred againſt illegitimate children. Contarini abdicated his office on account of his great age, and was ſucceeded by John Dandolo. Both theſe doges poſſeſſed the talents requiſite for civil government. The latter reformed the magiſtracies intruſted with the inſpection of proviſions and manners.

Laurence Thiepolo, A.D. 1268.

James Contarini, A.D. 1275.

John Dandalo, A.D. 1279.

On the very day of Dandolo's funeral, a violent tumult aroſe among the people, who, long deprived of their right of electing the doges, now inſiſted on reſuming it, and rejected Peter Gradenigo, whom the nobles had nominated to the ſupreme authority. A thouſand confuſed voices poured forth invectives againſt the nobility, and proclaimed James Thiepolo: but he, being a timid man, and equally fearful of diſobliging the nobles if he accepted the proferred dignity as of diſpleaſing the populace if he refuſed it, concealed himſelf, and thus left the field open for Peter Gradenigo, a man of firmneſs and reſolution.

Peter Gradenigo, A.D. 1289.

This doge foſtered a reſentment againſt the people for their election of Thiepolo, which he conſidered as an affront to him, although it had not been ſucceſsful. He determined to take from the citizens their ſmall remaining ſhare of influence in the elections of the doges; and this he accompliſhed by the changes which he introduced in the formation of the great council. At firſt thoſe innovations wore the appearance of ſome reſpect for the rights of the people: but when Gradenigo perceived that ſucceſs attended his meaſures, he threw off all reſtraint, and promulgated a decree by which it was ordained that the members, and the deſcendents of thoſe members, who then compoſed the great council, ſhould forever compoſe it, without election or ballot. It conſiſted entirely of nobles; and thus the government became purely ariſtocratic.

This law excited inſurrections as well of the people as of ſome noble families who happened not to belong to the great council at the time of its enactment. Gradenigo repreſſed the people by his firmneſs, and appeaſed the diſcontented nobles by holding forth to them the expectation of being admitted as ſupplementary members. But they did not all ſuffer themſelves to be dazzled by theſe promiſes: and the families of Quirini, Badoer, Baroci, formed a plot for the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient government. Baimonti Thiepolo, the ſon of that James from whom Gradenigo had ſnatched

the ducal dignity, was at their head. The ſcheme was diſcovered: Gradenigo introduced a body of troops, and a furious battle was fought in the city. Thiepolo's party was overpowered: himſelf was ſlain in the action: three noblemen, of the number of his adherents, were beheaded, and their dead bodies were ſuſpended from gibbets. On this occaſion was eſtabliſhed the terrible tribunal of "*the ten*," the firmeſt ſupport of ariſtocracy at Venice. Gradenigo is ſuppoſed to have been taken off by poiſon.

To him ſucceeded Marino Giorgi, who, after an adminiſtration of ten months, commenced at a time when he had already paſſed his eightieth year, died of old age, leaving behind him a remembrance of his religious virtues. His ſucceſſor, John Soranza, glorioufly ſuſtained the reputation of the Venetian arms in the eaſt, by the hands of Juſtinian Juſtiniani, who made Conſtantinople tremble. Francis Dandolo, who occupied the ducal chair after Soranza, effectually protected the Venetian commerce in Aſia Minor, to which the Turks gave interruption. Under his government, Peter Zeno, the general of the republic, took ſeveral veſſels from thoſe enemies, and cauſed all the Turks who fell into his power to be hanged as pirates and robbers. The Venetian government now began to employ in its land forces foreign generals, ſubject to the inſpection of the *proveditori* whom it attached to them. A great dearneſs

Marino Giorgi, A.D. 1310.

John Soranza, A.D. 1311.

Francis Dandolo, A.D. 1327.

of proviſions excited murmurs againſt the adminiſtration of Bartholomew Gradenigo his ſucceſſor. Andrew Dandolo enabled the Venetian commerce to reſume, in queſt of the ſpices and rich ſtuffs of India, the advantageous road through Egypt, which the Turks had barred againſt it. For that purpoſe it was neceſſary to conclude a treaty with the infidels—a prevarication which was ſeverely prohibited, but now ſanctioned by the pope's diſpenſation for the ſpace of five years: and the ſignoria ſent a conſul to Alexandria. The wealth which accrued from thoſe regulations enabled Venice to ſuſtain, againſt Genoa, in the ſeas of Conſtantinople, a war whoſe viciſſitudes impaired the proſperity of both republics, eſpecially of Genoa, which ſuffered ſome momentous defeats.

Bartholomew Gradenigo, A. D 1339

Andrew Dandolo, A. D. 1343

The ariſtocracy of Venice was expoſed to imminent danger under the adminiſtration of Marino Faliero, who formed the project of reſtoring the power to the people, through hatred of the nobles from whom he had received ſome diſguſt. One of his accomplices betrayed the plot at the moment when it was to have been carried into execution: the nobles took up arms: ſixteen of the citizen chiefs were hanged without trial: but the doge was tried in due form, and, having acknowledged his crime, was beheaded in the hall of the great council. After the portraits of the preceding doges, was placed a picture repreſenting a vacant throne covered with crape, and theſe words beneath

Marino Faliero, A.D.1354

—"This is the place of Marino Faliero, who was "beheaded for his crimes."

John Gradenigo, his ſucceſſor, was removed by death after ſix months ſpent in the adminiſtration, John Delfino after ſix years, and Laurence Celſo after four. During the government of this latter, a great revolt took place in Candia, which continued and was terminated under Marc Cornaro, who enjoyed the ducal dignity only two years. At this period Venice was wont to ſend her fleets to the eaſt for the purpoſe of taking on board her treaſures, of combating her rivals, of ſuſtaining and extending her commerce; while her terreſtrial armies rendered her formidable to her neighbours, and enriched her by the acquiſition of new ſtates. But while ſhe imprudently removed her forces from the centre to the extremities, the Genoeſe made their appearance before the *lagune*, inveſted and penetrated into them. Venice was in danger, and now for the firſt time trembled. After ſome days of conſternation, the pathetic exhortations of the doge Andrew Contarini rouſed the fallen courage of his countrymen: animated by his example, they flew to arms: the brave Piſani, whom the ungrateful republic had condemned to expiate in priſon the diſgrace of a defeat, was releaſed from his confinement, and re-appointed to his former poſt of marine generaliſſimo. That great man, forgetful of the wrongs he had ſuffered from his country, ſaved her, but loſt his life in her ſervice.

John Gradenigo, A.D. 1355.

John Delfino, A.D. 1356.

Laurence Celſo, A.D. 1361

Marc Cornaro, A.D. 1365.

Andrew Contarini, A.D. 1367.

In this perilous criſis the doge diſplayed equal prudence and courage, judiciouſly employing all the reſources of the ſtate, which was in great meaſure indebted to him for its preſervation. For the important ſervices which he had performed, he gained a brilliant teſtimony of the gratitude of his concitizens in an honourable mark of diſtinction; one of the nobility being appointed publicly to pronounce his funeral eulogium. His ſucceſſor Michael Moroſini had not time to realiſe the hopes which had been conceived of him. He was carried off by the plague at the end of ſix months.

Michael Moroſini, A.D. 1382.

Antony Veniero, A.D. 1385.

Antony Veniero, diſtinguiſhed by his eminent qualifications, was governor in Candia at the time of his election. He cauſed a regulation to be adopted by which all foreigners were prohibited from forming an eſtabliſhment or becoming rented proprietors at Venice without ſpecial licence; and to acquire the rights and privileges of a citizen, a reſidence of fifteen years was thenceforward required. The object of the Venetian ambition at this period was the conqueſt and poſſeſſion of Padua; both which, after much effuſion of blood, were accompliſhed under Michael Steno. That city, with Verona and ſome other neighbouring places, had paſſed from the illuſtrious family of Leſcale, to the no leſs celebrated houſe of Carrario. Theſe defended their domains with courage; but their force was inadequate to the taſk. The father Leſcale and two of his ſons were made priſoners;

Michael Steno, A.D. 1400.

whereupon, to cut off all future pretenſions and reclamations, the *ſignoria* cauſed them to be beheaded. This republican rigor exaſperated all the European princes to whoſe knowledge it came. Padua, as the Venetians had long wiſhed, was annexed to the dominions of the republic, who neglected no opportunity of aggrandiſing herſelf: but the increaſe of her power added nothing to that of the doge: on the contrary, there ſeemed to be a pleaſure taken in humbling him. Michael Steno withſtood ſome diſagreeable attacks; which circumſtance cauſed a regulation to be made after his death, that the *avvogadori* could ſummon the doge to trial, and that he never could over-rule their deciſions. The cuſtom alſo was aboliſhed of aſſembling the people for the purpoſe of their approving the election of a new doge; and it was ordained that the buſineſs ſhould thenceforward be confined to the ceremony of ſimply proclaiming him. Thus the people were completely excluded from their ſmall remaining participation in the management of ſtate affairs.

The immenſe profits which the Venetians derived from their commerce enabled them, under the government of Thomas Mocenigo, to employ, as neceſſity impelled or opportunity invited, the two moſt powerful means of aggrandiſement—force and money. The former they ſucceſsfully exerted againſt the Turks in the Morea, and againſt ſeveral petty ſovereigns whoſe ſtates they invaded

Thomas Mocenigo, A.D. 1414.

in Dalmatia and Friuli. Already they had acquired Patras and Zara by purchaſe: in addition they alſo purchaſed Corinth. The doge Mocenigo has left to poſterity, in a diſcourſe which he pronounced to the ſenate, a picture of the flouriſhing ſtate of the republic at this period of proſperity. "In conſequence," ſays he, "of the attention "which we have beſtowed on commerce, Venice "annually ſends her exports to foreign countries "to the amount of ten millions of ducats. By "the freight alone we gain two millions, and an "equal ſum by the ſale of the merchandiſe. We "have three thouſand veſſels from ten to two "hundred tons' burden, which employ ſeventeen "thouſand ſeamen—three hundred large ſhips "which are manned by eight thouſand—and forty-"five galleys containing eleven thouſand. Every "year you ſend five hundred ducats to the con-"tinent, as many more to other maritime places: "the ſurplus remains at Venice a clear gain. You "annually derive from Florence ſixteen thouſand "pieces of the fineſt cloth, which you ſell at Na-"ples, in Sicily, and the different marts of the "Levant. Your exchange on Florence amounts "to three hundred thouſand ducats per annum. "In a word the whole univerſe contributes to ſwell "the ſum of your profits."

Francis Foſcari, A.D. 1423

Under Francis Foſcari they added Theſſalonica to their former purchaſes. But the Turks claiming the place as their lawful property, the bargain

involved Venice in a war with them, which proved very fatal to that unfortunate city. The barbarians ſacked and demoliſhed it, that it might not belong to the purchaſers any more than to themſelves. The doge did not diſtinguiſh himſelf in the wars which the Venetians waged at this riod againſt Milan, Florence, Genoa, or rather againſt all Italy. Alternately the allies and the enemies of every neighbouring power, their land forces were, according to their uſual cuſtom, commanded by foreign generals, leſt one of their nobles, by having an army at his diſpoſal, ſhould acquire a dangerous authority: but the nobility were ſuffered to retain the command of the naval armaments, becauſe it is more difficult to propagate plans of revolt from one ſhip to another, than to gain over batallions who may be harangued all together. They have always had ſkilful admirals. As to the leaders of their land armies, they choſe them among the moſt able commanders, of whom there was no ſcarcity in Italy.

The Venetians were liberal in the remuneration of their generals; but the ſervice of a jealous republic was not unattended with danger. In that war which ſhook all Italy, they thought themſelves betrayed by the celebrated Carmagnola; and in fact they were betrayed, if it be treachery in a general not to purſue all his advantages over the enemy. This appears to have been the moſt ſerious charge made againſt that unfortunate general: and there was in the proceedings againſt

him a perfidious intrigue which was even acknowledged by the duke of Milan, his enemy. His trial was conducted with the moſt myſterious ſecrecy: it is even aſſerted that he was neither interrogated nor allowed to ſpeak in his own defence; and he was conducted to execution with his mouth gagged, under the vague imputation of having "committed various acts of treachery "againſt the republic, and of meditating additional "treaſons." Of his large property only a ſmall ſhare was left to his wife and children.

The doge Foſcari, who was implicated in the diſaſters experienced by the Venetian arms, did not eſcape ſuſpicion. From his virtuous character, however, it is preſumable that the iniquitous complexion of Carmagnola's affair ſhocked his delicacy, and that the authors of that general's death, to rid themſelves of Foſcari's preſence which was a living cenſure on their conduct, laboured to depoſe him. But he diſappointed their malice by voluntarily offering to ſubmit to a trial and abdicate his authority. This docile complaiſance gave ſo great ſatisfaction, that not only his reſignation was refuſed, but he was even forced to take an oath that he never would reſign.

Foſcari therefore ruled the ſtate in peace, and even with applauſe during thirty-four years. At the expiration of that term, a diſagreeable affair that happened to his ſon, and that ſon's conſequent death in exile, plunged him in profound melancholy. He now no more quitted his apartment;

he did not appear in the public councils. It was the cuſtom, that, during the abſence or indiſpoſition of the doge, the eldeſt of the counſellors ſhould preſide in quality of vice-doge. In a time of peace, ſuch as the period in queſtion, the republic might have been ſatisfied with that form of government, and have ſtill left the enjoyment of his honourable ſtation to an old man above eighty years of age who already ſtood on the brink of the grave, and who deſerved well of the ſtate. But the council of ten overlooked all theſe conſiderations, and aſſembled a *giunta* of twenty-five ſenators, who, after five days' deliberation, determined that ſix counſellors ſhould wait on the doge, and prevail on him to reſign his office, as he had once propoſed and ſeveral times ſince expreſſed his wiſh to do.

But the farther a man is advanced in years, the leſs patiently does he bear any admonition which reminds him of his decay. Thus, Foſcari replied that it was his intention to obſerve the oath by which he had been obliged to bind himſelf never to abdicate; and he demanded a convocation of the great council. The *giunta*, foreſeeing probably that the populace might under the influence of compaſſion be inclined to favour him, abſolutely determined that he ſhould be releaſed from his oath, that he ſhould vacate the ducal chair, that a new doge ſhould immediately be elected to ſucceed him, that a penſion and certain honours

ſhould be aſſigned to him in his retreat; and he was allowed three days to ſettle his affairs. Foſcari did not require ſo long a ſpace, but calmly anſwered, "Very chearfully will I obey the Moſt Excel-"lent council of the Ten:" and at the ſame time he delivered up the ring, or ducal ſeal, which was inſtantly broken in his preſence—laid aſide his official bonnet, and put on a common cap—gave orders for the removal of his effects—and, after having done all this with the moſt deliberate coolneſs, walked out of the palace.

The compulſory reſignation of Foſcari excited univerſal murmurs. All the citizens exclaimed againſt the inſult offered to an old man who had well ſerved his country, and whoſe death it would have been proper to await, eſpecially ſince it could not be far diſtant. They openly expreſſed their ſentiments on the occaſion; and their remarks bore the ſtamp of aſperity. The council of the Ten prohibited, on pain of certain puniſhment, all further mention of that affair, and enjoined the magiſtrates to inform againſt all who ſhould raſhly dare to infringe their prohibition. The voice of complaint was now huſhed to ſilence: the great council aſſembled, and, according to cuſtom, nominated electors, who gave their votes to Paſchal Malipiero. When the bells began to ring through the city to announce the election, Foſcari experienced a ſudden ſhock which terminated his exiſtence. "He deſerved better of the

Paſchal Malipiero, A.D. 1457.

" republic," ſays a hiſtorian, " than any of his " predeceſſors, and was treated with leſs delicacy " than any of them. The Venetians," he adds, " muſt have hearts of different mould from other " men, if the love of their country can continue " among them, and they can devote themſelves to " her ſervice after ſuch traits of ingratitude." But is it really the love of their country that induces men to aſpire to lucrative and honourable poſts?

Under Chriſtopher Moro, Malipiero's ſucceſſor, hoſtilities were carried on againſt the Turks in the Morea. In this conteſt, the Venetians were aſſiſted by an army of cruſaders, notwithſtanding whoſe aſſiſtance, the war proved unſucceſsful. But now the Venetians began to entertain hopes of poſſeſſing the kingdom of Cyprus, which were realiſed under Moro's ſucceſſors. The firſt of them, Nicolas Trono, occupied the ducal chair but for a ſhort while. After him, it was filled by Nicolas Marcello, whoſe reign was not of longer duration. To him ſucceeded Peter Mocenigo, celebrated in war, and not leſs diſtinguiſhed for political abilities.

Chriſtopher Moro, A.D. 1462.

Nicolas Trono, A.D. 1471.

Nicolas Marcello, A.D. 1473.

Peter Mocenigo, A.D. 1474.

When admiral of the republic, Mocenigo had gone to Cyprus to receive the teſtamentary directions of James Luſignan, king of the iſland, who had married a Venetian lady of the family of Cornaro. The republic had adopted that princeſs, and acted as her mother at the time of her marriage. Luſignan, leaving her pregnant, ordained by his will, that, if ſhe ſhould bring forth a ſon, the king-

dom ſhould be entirely his—but if a daughter, it ſhould be divided between her and the mother, who in this caſe was appointed guardian, in conjunction with Andrew Cornaro, her uncle. The iſſue proved to be a ſon: and Peter Mocenigo, conſidering the mother and the child as wards of the republic, ſupported them againſt ſeveral factions which aroſe in Cyprus.

The principal of theſe was fomented by Alfonſo, king of Arragon, who had betrothed his ſon to a natural daughter of the late king Luſignan, with the view of acquiring claims to the kingdom of Cyprus in caſe of the death of that monarch's ſon by his Venetian wife. The young prince died. Then Mocenigo's ſucceſſor, Andrew Vendramino, to releaſe the queen from all ſubject of uneaſineſs, cauſed the promiſed bride of Arragon to be conveyed to Venice. That princeſs enjoyed ſome liberty in the city; when the ſenate were informed, that, in a veſſel laden with fruits, the king of Arragon ſent a ſmall band of men determined to carry her off. Immediately the council of the Ten ordered her to be conducted to the citadel of Padua; and a report was ſpread that ſhe had fallen the victim of a fit of illneſs: but nobody was miſtaken as to the nature of her diſeaſe. The character of the Venetians did not ſtand in high repute for good faith or religion: the pope excommunicated them for having made a treaty of alliance with Bajazet II. They proudly bore that diſgrace, and extorted

Andrew Vendramino, A.D. 1476.

his abſolution by their ſucceſſes in Italy. They alſo acquired towns and iſlands by purchaſe, gave uneaſineſs to Naples, and abuſed their ſtrength againſt the little republic of Raguſa. The latter could not obtain juſtice till ſhe had threatened to throw herſelf into the arms of the Turks unleſs ſhe were treated with more tenderneſs and regard. John Mocenigo, who had ſucceeded Vendramino, was the ſoul of all theſe affairs. By his death the republic was deprived of a great general and an able ſtateſman.

John Mocenigo, A.D. 1478.

Two brothers, of the name of Barbarigo, ſucceſſively ſwayed the ducal ſceptre—Marc, who did little more than touch it—and Auguſtin, who held it during a long reign. Under the latter the Cyprian buſineſs was terminated: the ſignoria, the adoptive mother of the queen Catharine Cornaro, had, during fifteen years, left her in poſſeſſion of only the honours of royalty, and kept to itſelf all the ſubſtantial advantages. The guardians, beginning to apprehend leſt their ward ſhould grow tired of her pupillary ſubjection and take a huſband for the ſake of emancipating herſelf from it, determined to avert that blow by removing the queen from her dominions, and conveying her to Venice.

Marc Barbarigo, A.D. 1485. Auguſtin Barbarigo, A.D. 1486.

Her brother Cornaro was charged with the taſk of obtaining her approbation of this propoſal: but Catharine, aſtoniſhed beyond expreſſion, refuſed to conſent to it. How indeed could ſhe quit an

opulent kingdom where ſhe enjoyed the honours of her regal dignity, to confine herſelf in a place where ſhe was to poſſeſs neither rank nor ſtate? "It is ſurely ſufficient," ſaid ſhe, "for the repub-"lic, to poſſeſs my kingdom after my death." Cornaro inſiſted, and repreſented to her, that, if ſhe perſevered in her refuſal, he would be accuſed of not having made ſufficient efforts to gain her aſſent, and that ſhe would expoſe him and all his family to the reſentment of the ſenate. "Well!" replied the diſconſolate princeſs melting in tears, "if you think it right, I alſo think it right; at leaſt "I'll endeavour to prevail on myſelf to think it ſo: "but it is to you much rather than to me that the "ſenate will be indebted for the poſſeſſion of my "kingdom."

She departed, her heart rent with mortal anguiſh: Venice gave her a magnificent reception: a fine caſtle in the Trevigiano was aſſigned for her reſidence, with the addition of a large ſum in hand, and a conſiderable yearly penſion. During this time the banner of Saint Marc was diſplayed at Famagoſta, and all over the iſland, now annexed to the domain of the republic. Venice indeed wanted nought but a crown to entitle her to occupy, in the aſſociation of princes, a rank equal to that of the other potentates: ſhe derived an equality of power from her wealth: ſhe was the centre of all negotiations: kings and princes ſent their embaſſadors to reſide within her walls, where they held

a perpetual congreſs in the vicinity of her auguſt ſenate: there leagues were formed; and thence iſſued thoſe reſolutions which proved ſo fatal to the French in the wars of Italy in the fifteenth century.

After the deceaſe of Auguſtin Barbarigo, the Venetians, during a ſhort interregnum, created a new magiſtracy, which ſome people call monſtrous, while others extol it as admirable—I mean the *ſtate inquiſitors*, whoſe duty it is to employ ſpies, to liſten to informations, to ſacrifice thoſe victims whoſe death appears neceſſary or uſeful to the public ſafety. Inexorable judges, diſpenſed from all reſponſibility, they are only three in number, and ſelected from among thoſe ſenators who are moſt conſpicuous for their integrity. Their judgements are not deciſive unleſs when they are all unanimous. They muſt be choſen from different families, and cannot remain in office beyond a limited period. Circumſcribed by theſe precautions, it is pretended that their power is not formidable except to the wicked: and Venetians will be found to aſſert that the ſtate inquiſitors have never deviated from the line of juſtice. But who can be certain of this, ſince they give no account of their proceedings? No doubt thoſe magiſtrates renounce all kind of ſociety, or ſociety ſhun their preſence: for who would willingly expoſe themſelves to the ſcrutiniſing eye or the attentive ear of a man who holds, at will, the axe ſuſpended over their heads?

Leonard Loretano, A.D. 1501.

Leonard Loretano, ſucceſſor to Auguſtin Barbarigo, ſaw, under his government, the republic ſhaken by a violent tempeſt. Her haughty demeanour excited an almoſt general confederacy againſt her. The pope, the French, and the princes of Italy, formed a league to humble her pride. They parceled out among themſelves her continental dominions before they had acquired poſſeſſion of them, and were determined to leave the Venetians nought but their own city, ſome ſmall tracts of country bordering on the Turkiſh territories, and a few iſlands. Every thing connected with Italy was to be the prey of the confederates. Not thinking herſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to defend the Terra-Firma, the ſignoria reſolved at firſt to abandon it, hoping by this ſacrifice to avert the blow by which ſhe was threatened: but, recovering from her firſt alarm, ſhe reſumed courage. By timely ſubmiſſions ſhe appeaſed the pope: by her ſucceſſes ſhe gained ſome allies; and by a train of well-conducted intrigues ſhe excited diſcord among the coaleſced powers. The French fury was what the Venetians had the greateſt reaſon to dread. Louis XII. who knew the temper of his nation, well foreſaw the effects of Gallic impetuoſity; and to thoſe who attempted to inſpire him with a dread of the prudence and policy and wiſdom of the Venetian ſenate, he anſwered, "I'll give them ſo "many madmen to govern, that, with all their "wiſdom, they will never be able to manage

" them." Accordingly every thing yielded at firſt to the dauntleſs and hot-headed young nobility who conſtituted the chief ſtrength of the French army: but the phlegmatic coolneſs of the Venetians deadened the ſhock; and, after ten years of warfare, the belligerant powers found themſelves in nearly the ſame ſituation in which they had been at the beginning, but greatly exhauſted, eſpecially the republic, whoſe extreme diſtreſs is clearly evinced by the circumſtance of her ſelling the offices of magiſtracy. However, as the firmneſs of Loretano had contributed to render the events of the war leſs diſaſtrous, ſo his prudence re-eſtabliſhed order in the government.

Venice ſaw on her frontier Charles V. and Francis I. contending for her favours, which, after the manner of thoſe courteſans whom ſhe tolerates within her walls, ſhe diſtributed to them, not according to the deſires of the rivals, but according to her own intereſts. Nor did the republic value herſelf more on her conſtancy than do thoſe venal females: and, in the wars of the ſixteenth century, it was no uncommon ſpectacle to behold the lion of Saint Marc with equal indifference marching in the train of the imperial eagle, or following the Gallic flower-de-luce. From the conflicting pretenſions of the belligerant potentates aroſe about this time the diplomatic ſcience, which was refined by the acuteneſs of Italian genius. That knowledge of the rights of the reſpective parties, reduced to the

regularity of syſtem, has proved extremely beneficial to the Venetians, who always had at the helm of their government men intimately qualified by the maturity of age as well as their republican circumſpection to practiſe the art of negotiation.

The ſucceſſors of Leonard Loretano may be compared to the ancient Sibyls for their age and their ſententious ſayings. Antony Grimani was eighty-ſeven years old when elevated to the ducal dignity: Andrew Gritti numbered fourſcore at the time of his election. The latter—obſerving, that, in a treaty concluded at Cambrai between Charles V. and Francis I. the intereſts of Venice had been neglected, notwithſtanding the promiſes which thoſe princes had ſeparately made to her for the purpoſe of gaining her over each to his party—ſaid theſe remarkable words: "The city of Cambrai is the purgatory of the Venetians. The "emperor and the king there oblige us to expiate "the ſin of having united ourſelves with them."

Antony Grimani, A. D. 1522.

Andrew Gritti, A.D. 1524.

Within the period of twenty years, ſix doges as it were tried on the ducal cap—Peter Lando, Francis Donato, Marc Antony Treviſano, Francis Veniero, Laurence and Jerom Priuli. The two laſt of theſe were brothers; and this kind of heirſhip, in a republic jealous of its rights and provided with laws which ſeemed to condemn ſuch family ſucceſſion, affords ſtrong evidence of their merit. The ſignoria permitted alſo, in favour of Laurence Priuli, a departure from the rule obſerved during

Peter Lando, A. D. 1538.

Francis Donato, A.D. 1546.

Marc Antony Treviſano, A.D. 1553.

Francis Veniero, A.D 1554.

Laurence Priuli, A.D. 1556.

Jerom Priuli, A.D. 1559.

more than a century, by which the coronation of a doge's wife was forbidden. Zilia Sendolo, his wife, received that honour, which was accompanied by majeſtic pomp.—At this period luxury had attained to ſuch a height as to attract the notice of the ſenate, and give riſe to repreſſive laws.

After the death of Jerom Priuli, the electors found it a tedious taſk to agree in the choice of his ſucceſſor. Thirteen days the difficulty endured; when at length the plurality of votes pointed out Peter Loretano, whoſe age was fourſcore and five years. Never had his boſom panted for that exalted rank: and ſo little did it engage his thoughts, that, on the breaking up of the ſenate, he was quietly returning to his own houſe. It became neceſſary to diſpatch a ſecretary after him to remind him that he had juſt been elected doge. If age did not render him indifferent to the events that marked his adminiſtration, he muſt have been ſenſibly affected by the proſpect of thoſe diſaſters which threatened the republic, now on the point of loſing the iſle of Cyprus, the brighteſt gem in her crown. The Venetians had obtained poſſeſſion of it by artful machination: the Turks ſeiſed it by force, and have ſince retained it their own. This loſs, however, did not deciſively take place till the adminiſtration of Loretano's ſucceſſor Lewis Mocenigo. Nor were the Turks the only enemies to Venice at this period: in addition to them, ſhe had moreover to contend with the Uſcocchi, a remnant

Peter Loretano, A.D. 1567.

Lewis Mocenigo, A.D. 1570.

of the Albanian race, a ſet of enterpriſing and active pirates lurking in the inner receſſes of the gulf of Quarnero, whoſe ſhoals and rocks afforded them a place of retreat and defence. The republic was obliged to keep a number of veſſels conſtantly cruiſing on the watch for them. She often compelled thoſe freebooters to reſtore their plunder; but it ſeldom happened that they did not retain ſome part of it.

Sebaſtian Veniero, A.D. 1577.

During his ſhort reign of a year, Sebaſtian Veniero witneſſed two important events, the one advantageous, the other diſaſtrous. The former was the re-eſtabliſhment of the finances of the republic by a reduction of the intereſt which had riſen to fourteen per cent, and by a retrenchment in the expenſes of government: the latter was the conflagration of the ducal palace—a misfortune which is here noticed becauſe it involved the deſtruction of many monuments of the arts, and of many excellent pictures repreſenting the moſt glorious tranſactions in the hiſtory of the republic—an irreparable loſs, which ſo deeply affected Sebaſtian Veniero that he died of grief in conſequence of it.

Nicolas da Ponte, A.D. 1578.

His ſucceſſor, Nicolas da Ponte, had taught philoſophy and the belles lettres, and ſucceſſively paſſed through all the honours of the republic. This inſtance of good fortune, ſuch as is no-where to be found except in elective ſtates, is encouraging for thoſe who apply themſelves to the ſciences. Perhaps his fellow-citizens had only intended him

a ſhort-lived glory as a decoration for his tomb, ſince he was eighty-eight years old at the time of his election: but he continued during ſeven years more to tread the path of honour which his merit had opened to him.

Under Paſchal Cicogna his ſucceſſor, was eſtabliſhed the bank of Venice, a depoſitory open to all who chooſe to lodge their money in it with the double advantage of ſafety and of intereſt under the guaranty of the ſtate. The punctuality of its payments ſeems a ſure pledge of their perpetuity. Then alſo was begun the bridge of the Rialto, conſiſting of a ſingle arch, over the ſerpentine canal which divides Venice into two parts. Here is annually exhibited by the inhabitants of the oppoſite ſides a mock combat, which however does not terminate without ſome accident. Under Cicogna's adminiſtration alſo was embelliſhed Saint-Marc's ſquare, which conſtantly preſents to the beholder's mind a ſtriking contraſt—on one ſide the two formidable pillars between which the axe of the republic ſtrikes off the heads of the guilty or the ſuſpected, and where alſo yawn thoſe infernal mouths ever open to receive the anonymous accuſation, which they greedily ſwallow, and again regorge to the ſtate inquiſitors: on the other ſide appear buffoons, tumblers, quack doctors, muſicians, dancers, alluring courteſans, every appearance of uncontroled gaiety maſked or unmaſked, and ſeveral rows of ſhops ſtored with every thing

Paſchal Cicogna, A.D. 1585.

which can flatter the palate or the eye. In a ſeparate and privileged ſpot, forming as it were a ſhade to the picture, are ſeen walking the nobles and the ſenators arrayed in their ſable robes, and diſplaying in their care-fraught countenances the air of men intruſted with the intereſts of the univerſe.

Marino Grimani, A.D. 1596.

At the election of Marino Grimani, ſucceſſor to Cicogna, the people indulged in lively tranſports of joy on account of his affability and the gentleneſs of his character. Under his adminiſtration broke out thoſe quarrels between Venice and the papacy which were decided with advantage to the republic during the reign of Leonard Donato his ſucceſſor.

Leonard Donato, A.D. 1606.

The war between Venice and the Uſcocchi was renewed under Marc Antony Memo, and continued under John Bembo, with the moſt atrocious exceſſes on the part of thoſe freebooters. It was terminated during Bembo's adminiſtration by the deſtruction of the pirates' veſſels, the ruin of their places of refuge, and the diſperſion of their chiefs, whoſe names are almoſt forgotten. Other wars in the Mantuano and Friuli employed the arms of the republic, and created between her and Spain a coolneſs nearly bordering on hatred. It did not produce any effects under the reign of Nicolas Donato, who was raiſed to the ducal throne at the age of eighty years, and did not occupy it above a month: but, under his ſucceſſor Antony Priuli, the animoſity broke forth in a

Marc Antony Memo, A.D. 1612.

John Bembo, A.D. 1616.

Nicolas Donato, A.D. 1618.

Antony Priuli, A.D. 1618.

conſpiracy which has been rendered famous by the pen of an elegant writer *. The plot was concerted between the duke of Oſſuna who governed Naples as the Spaniſh ſovereign's viceroy, and the marquis Bedmar who repreſented the ſame monarch as embaſſador at Venice. The object of their treachery was nothing leſs than the ſeiſure or total deſtruction of the Venetian capital; and their meaſures were ſo ably planned that unforeſeen accidents alone could have fruſtrated them. The ſubordinate agents were arreſted and puniſhed with death: but the two principals diſavowed all knowledge of the plot. The proofs of that crime —which may juſtly be denominated treaſon, ſince it was committed in the ſeaſon of peace—were manifeſt: yet the Venetians contented themſelves with ſending back the embaſſador to ſuffer the award of juſtice in Spain, where he did not even ſuffer diſgrace: and if Oſſuna died in priſon, his confinement was the reward of a different crime.

To Priuli ſucceeded Francis Contarini, whoſe death, after an adminiſtration of two years, made room for John Cornaro. The latter had the mortification of ſeeing his eldeſt ſon condemned, for the crime of aſſaſſination, to perpetual baniſhment, and his name eraſed from the golden book, notwithſtanding the exalted rank of the father. Perhaps as a conſolation to him, it was declared that

Francis Contarini, A.D. 1623. John Cornaro, A.D. 1625.

* Saint-Réal.

the dignity of cardinal, to which his other ſon had recently been promoted, was not one of thoſe foreign dignities which were forbidden to the Venetian nobles.

The affair of the doge's ſon, condemned to exile by the council of ten, excited a violent ſtorm againſt that tribunal. The young nobles could not brook ſubjection to its ſecret and rigorous proceedings: but, in an aſſembly held on the ſubject, the opinion of the more aged prevailed, becauſe they proved that the ſecrecy and promptitude of that tribunal were the only means capable of reſtraining a body of fervid youth who often ſhowed themſelves void of reflexion. The tribunal therefore was confirmed in its functions and mode of proceeding.

Nicolas Contarini, A.D. 1630.

Nicolas Contarini ſeconded the careful exertions of the ſenate for the relief of the Venetians attacked by a plague which from Lombardy had reached their city.

Francis Erizzo, A.D. 1632.

Under Francis Erizzo his ſucceſſor, the diſtinction of dreſs, the privilege of wearing a robe with great ſleeves, the ſcarlet veſt, and the golden ſtole and girdle, as ſeriouſly occupied the attention of the Venetian ſenate as a new faſhion could engage that of a council of females. It muſt be owned that badges of honour may have their advantages both in a monarchy and in a republic, as well to awake emulation as to impreſs the inferior orders with reſpect: the only puerility conſiſts in the over-great importance an-

nexed to ſuch ornaments by thoſe who are decorated with them.

Erizzo poſſeſſed capacity for concerns of greater moment than the adjuſtment of a ceremonial. Though advanced to the age of four-ſcore years, the council judged him a fit perſon to command, under the title of captain-general, the troops ſent by the republic to the aſſiſtance of the iſle of Candia, at this time attacked by the Turks. When this valiant ſenior was nominated, a generous ardor was ſeen to beam in his eyes. "I am "ready," he exclaimed, "to conſecrate to the ſer-"vice of the republic the laſt remaining moments "of a life which has ever been devoted to her. I "ſhall ſet out with the greater joy as I foreſee that "I am to have the honour of dying for my coun-"try." He obtained that honour—not, however, with the weapons of war in his hand, but overcome by the fatigues of the preparation, under which he ſank to the grave.

During this diſaſtrous war, the Venetians were reduced to contend with their ſingle unaided ſtrength againſt that of a mighty empire. Francis Molino did not, like his predeceſſor, unite the office of captain-general with the dignity of doge. He remained at Venice to guide the councils of the republic while the admirals acquired renown abroad by glorious exploits. On no occaſion did the Venetians more conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſh themſelves by their ſkill in nautics, their intrepidity in

Francis Molino, A.D. 1646.

combat, their moderation in victory, their conſtancy in misfortune.

If their ſtruggle had been with an enemy leſs obſtinate, leſs attached to the point of honour of not abandoning an enterpriſe once commenced, the Venetians might, by their negotiations and their reaſonable propoſals, have preſerved at leaſt a part of the conteſted iſland: and this was an object which Charles Contarino, Molino's ſucceſſor, endeavoured to accompliſh. We cannot tell what were the views of the enſuing doge, Francis Cornaro, as he did not ſurvive his election longer than a month. His place was filled by Bertuccio Valiero, who recommended that the republic ſhould accept of the peace which the Turks offered to her, though with the condition annexed that ſhe ſhould yield to them the entire iſland. "It was better," ſaid the doge, "to conclude a peace, ſomewhat "diſadvantageous indeed, but of which the diſ-"grace was palliated by the laurels that the Ve-"netian generals had acquired, than to perſevere "in a war which had already endured fourteen "years, and would end in the total ruin of the "ſtate."

Charles Contarino, A.D. 1655.

Francis Cornaro, A.D. 1656.

Bertuccio Valiero, A.D. 1656.

This advice was combated by John Peſaro, who already had more than once ſucceſsfully oppoſed that ceſſion. On this occaſion too he prevailed, and was the better enabled to ſupport his own opinion, as Valiero died, and he ſucceeded in his ſtead. But he did not occupy the throne above

John Peſaro, A.D. 1658.

two years. The loſs of Candia was completed under the adminiſtration of his ſucceſſor, Dominic Contarini. It may be aſſerted that the Venetians were not ſo much vanquiſhed as cruſhed by the Ottomans, whoſe forces were inceſſantly renewed. Candia, the capital, the laſt town which ſurrendered, was nothing but a heap of ruins. Above thirty thouſand Turks loſt their lives before its walls: the beſieged played off four hundred and eighty-four mines, ſuſtained twenty aſſaults, and made ſixteen ſorties. The finances of the republic were at leaſt equally injured as the iſland which ſhe ceded to the enemy. It is aſſerted, that, at the termination of the war, ſhe was indebted above ſixty-four millions.

Dominic Contarini, A.D. 1660.

The republic enjoyed ſome repoſe under Nicolas Sagredo and Lewis Contarino. During this period, however, ſhe ſuffered ſome infractions of treaties, committed by the Turks who were proudly confident in their own ſtrength. The lion of Saint Marc lay aſleep: but he ſtarted from his ſlumbers, under the adminiſtration of Marc Antony Giuſtiniano, at the report of a league formed againſt the Turks by the emperor and the king of Poland. The Venetians chearfully joined the confederacy, and aided the allies not only with their forces but alſo with the martial abilities of Francis Moroſini. That great man, almoſt invariably victorious over the Turks in the war of Candia, had eſtabliſhed his reputation ſo high, that, on the death of Giuſ-

Nicholas Sagredo, A.D. 1674. Lewis Contarino, A.D. 1676.

Marc Antony Giuſtiniano, A.D. 1684.

Francis Moroſini, A.D. 1688.

tiniani, no candidate preſented himſelf for the ducal dignity. This deferential ſilence ſeemed to point out Moroſini as the man. He was then with the fleet, the accuſtomed theatre of his triumphs. The ſenate, unwilling to deprive the republic of the benefit of his military talents, did not recall him, but ſent to him the ducal cap and ring, which he received amid the ſailors and ſoldiers, the witneſſes and companions of his exploits.

After his elevation, Victory did not ſo ſteadily adhere to his banners, though ſhe did not entirely forſake him. Two ſevere illneſſes compelled him to relinquiſh the command. After having clothed himſelf with glory at the head of the troops, Moroſini diſplayed at the helm of affairs all the ability of a wiſe governor. Some checks experienced by the Venetian arms recalled to the public mind the ſucceſſes of the doge: and the ſignoria, not expecting to be fortunate under the auſpices of any other leader, again appointed him captain-general. This was the fourth time of his holding that office: but a fatiguing campaign injured his health, and accelerated his diſſolution. The ſenate cauſed his buſt to be erected in the balloting-hall, with this inſcription, "To Francis Moroſini the Pelo-"ponneſian *."

Silveſter Valiero, A.D. 1694.

The war was continued with conſiderable obſtinacy under the reign of Silveſter Valiero. The

* *Peloponneſian* is here a title of honour, as the *African*, the *Aſiatic*, applied to the Scipios.

victories of the Venetians were numerous: but they afforded not adequate compenſation for their loſſes: wherefore we need not be ſurpriſed that they ſubſcribed to a peace with the Turks on terms leſs advantageous than they ſeemed entitled to have expected. They remained neuter during the war of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. It began while Lewis Mocenigo filled the ducal chair: and all his phlegmatic coolneſs and patience were neceſſary to prevent the ſenate from yielding to the indirect attempts made by the belligerant powers to rouſe the republic from the political indifference which ſhe had laid down as her rule of conduct. Under John Cornaro, a law was enacted which regulates the dreſs of the Venetian ladies, of both the noble and the citizen claſs. They are prohibited to wear, within the city, pearls, diamonds, gold or ſilver lace, or any kind of embroidery. Black is the preſcribed colour of their raiment: thus they cannot exerciſe their taſte for ornament except in the faſhion alone. John Cornaro ſaw war break out anew between the republic and the Turks. Sebaſtian Mocenigo brought it to a concluſion by a treaty, for which he was rewarded with the ducal cap after the death of Cornaro. Mocenigo was ſucceeded by Charles Razzini, who died at the age of eighty-one, and had for his ſucceſſor Lewis Piſani. He has been followed by Peter Grimaldi, Francis Loretano, Marc Foſcarini, Al-

Lewis Mocenigo, A.D. 1701.

John Cornaro, A.D. 1710.

Sebaſtian Mocenigo, A.D. 172[illegible].

Charles Razzini, A.D. 1732.

Lewis Piſani, A.D. 1735.

Peter Grimaldi, A.D. 1741. Francis Loretano, A.D. 1752. Marc Foſcarini, A.D. 1762. Alvizio Mocenigo, A.D. 1763 Paul Riniero, A.D. 1779. Lewis Manino, A.D. 1789.

viſio Mocenigo, Paul Riniero, and finally Lewis Manino, the laſt doge.

The machine of the Venetian government is moved by ſo very complicate a combination of wheels, that whoever has not been accuſtomed to it from his infancy, requires ſtudy to enable him to comprehend its motions.

The great council is compoſed of all the nobles who have paſſed the age of twenty-five years. It ſits every ſunday and holiday: it nominates to all the offices of ſtate, except ſome few which are filled by the choice of the ſenate.

The college conſiſts of the doge, of ſix counſellors without whoſe concurrence he can do nothing, of the criminal *quarantia*, of five *ſaggj grandi* from the Terra Firma, five from the orders, and ſix *ſaggj grandi* without addition. The college gives audience to embaſſadors, generals, and deputies of towns, and convokes the ſenate.

The ſenate, or the *pregadi*, is the aſſembly of three hundred nobles. There are not among them above a hundred and twenty ſenators: to complete the number of three hundred, the remainder are taken from all the other tribunals. The ſenate determines on peace and war, impoſes taxes, regulates the rate of intereſt, diſpoſes of all the higher employments in the republic, and nominates embaſſadors.

The council of Ten takes cogniſance of all ſtate

crimes, and exerciſes ſupreme authority even over the doge himſelf.

The ſtate inquiſitors, three in number, are choſen from that council, and are ſtill more formidable ſince they have authority even over the other members of the council of Ten. When the three are unanimous in opinion, they put whom they pleaſe to death without being accountable for their conduct. In every quarter they have ſpies employed, and they pay nocturnal viſits to the palace of Saint Marc, where the doge reſides. They enter and come out from it by ſecret paſſages of which themſelves keep the key. To ſee them in their expeditions is as dangerous as to be ſeen by them. Whoever is arreſted by order of the council of Ten is interrogated by one of the ſtate inquiſitors. The culprit's anſwers being communicated to his judges, he receives ſentence without being permitted to ſpeak in his own defence, to employ counſel, to ſee his relatives, or even to receive letters. If convicted on manifeſt evidence, the execution takes place in public; if not, in the ſecrecy of the priſon. The moſt uſual mode of putting to death is by drowning. It is ſaid to be a ruling maxim of this tribunal that it is better to deſtroy twenty innocent perſons than ſuffer one criminal to eſcape. The imputation ſeems to be overſtrained: but it is certain that this tribunal leans very much to ſeverity, and that the ſlighteſt

faults in matters concerning the ſtate are with them irremiſſible.

The *avvogadori* are appointed in each tribunal to enforce the execution of the laws. The cenſors, two in number, watch over the manners of the citizens. The criminal and civil *quarantia* decide on the cauſes of private individuals: their denomination indicates the number * of the members, and their functions. The procurators of Saint Marc have the ſuperintendence of the hoſpitals, public libraries and alms, and watch over the preſervation of peace and good order in families.

The chancellor muſt always be a citizen. His functions, and the honours which he enjoys, ſeem to have been allotted to him as a compenſation to the people, of whom he is the repreſentative, for the power which they have loſt. He keeps the ſeal of ſtate, bears the title of *Eminence*, and takes precedency over all the ſenators and magiſtrates, except the counſellors of the ſignoria, who are accounted as conſtituting but one aggregate with the doge. The chancellor holds his office for life—enjoys all the privileges of nobility—aſſiſts, but without a deliberative voice, at all the councils except that of the Ten—makes a public entry after his election—and receives after death the ſame honours as the doge.

* *Quarantia* ſignifies the body of *forty*.

The doge poſſeſſes all the externals of ſovereignty, but with very little of the ſubſtantial reality. He lives under perpetual conſtraint, which extends even to his family—cannot abſent himſelf from the city without permiſſion—and performs no momentous functions of his office otherwiſe than as the delegate of the republic. Not only his actions, but even his words, are watched. If he commit any fault, he is expoſed to ſevere reprimands. His palace is crowded with ſpies: and, if he ſhould grow tired of ſo many trammels, he is prohibited to reſign his office. Men nevertheleſs are found to accept that dignity, though not deficient in fortune. The doge has under his juriſdiction the church of Saint Marc, of which he nominates all the canons. He is alſo the ſuperior of a celebrated nunnery into which none are admitted but ladies of noble birth, who enjoy great liberty under his government. The reſt of the clergy are ſubject to the inſpection of the ſenate.

The republic beſtows greater attention on the naval than the land ſervice. She conſtantly maintains, on board the ſhips and galleys, a certain number of young nobles, deſtined there to acquire a knowledge of naval tactics. Beſides, ſhe enjoins all the merchant ſhip-owners in her dominions to admit into their veſſels, and there ſupport at their own expenſe, two or three neceſſitous nobles, who have the privilege of taking on board a ſmall parcel of goods free of all charge. This cuſtom

foſters in the nobility a reliſh for commerce; nevertheleſs they cannot carry it on in their own names; but they take a ſhare in the commercial concerns of the citizens. Thus the two orders are bound to each other by the ties of mutual intereſt, which contribute to the public tranquillity. The land forces are compoſed, in peaceable times, of none but wretched peaſants, and the refuſe of the Terra-Firma. No pay is allowed to any except the captains and ſergeants: the others are content with the uniform and certain gratuities at the reviews. In war-time the republic takes foreign troops into her ſervice.

The Venetians are very temperate, and ſeldom indulge themſelves to exceſs. The nobles, in their intercourſe with each other, obſerve great circumſpection and ceremony. It is rare that more than one brother of a family marries: the others generally live with him, either from motives of œconomy or for the ſake of enjoying the ſociety of their ſiſter-in-law—a practice which is ſometimes made the ſubject of calumny. The women lead a melancholy life in the city: it has already been obſerved that they are not allowed there to uſe ſuch ornaments of dreſs as they might wiſh to wear: but they make themſelves ample amends when they viſit their eſtates on the Terra Firma. It is there that the Venetian nobility are ſeen in their full ſplendor.

In the city the chief part of their time is en-

groſſed by buſineſs, attendance in the councils, and elections. The remainder is devoted to gaming, which the ſignoria ſuffers to be practiſed to exceſs in places peculiarly appropriated to it. There the gamblers play in ſilence, and under cover of a maſk. The ſame diſguiſe is uſed in almoſt every tranſaction: but that concealment does not deceive the penetration of the ſpies who are here very numerous. Of theſe, the moſt common deſcription, and thoſe in whom government place the greateſt confidence, are the gondoliers. As people cannot diſpenſe with their ſervices in a city interſected by canals, they are acquainted with the motions of every individual, the hours of going out and returning home, viſits, rendez-vous, meetings, if there be any; and of the whole they give a faithful account. For this reaſon the government are carefully indulgent to that claſs of the community. Another deſcription of ſpies are the courteſans, in whoſe houſes it is more uſual even for good company to aſſemble, than in thoſe of ladies of character, whom cuſtom and perhaps jealouſy confine to their own family circle.

Does the reader wiſh, in concluſion, to be made acquainted with the precautions deviſed with the view of preventing or diſconcerting cabals and intrigues in elections? Thoſe obſerved in the election of the doge will convey a tolerable idea of the others. The great council (compoſed, as we have already remarked, of all the nobles who have

paſſed the age of twenty-five) being aſſembled, each member draws a ball from an urn: thirty gilded balls entitle thoſe who have drawn them to draw nine: the nine draw forty; the forty, twelve; the twelve, twenty-five; the twenty-five, nine; the nine, forty-five; the forty-five, eleven—all by gilded balls; and finally the eleven draw forty-one, who are the real electors. Theſe are locked up in ſecrecy, and, after many minute precautions which they adopt among themſelves, the happy mortal who unites twenty-one ſuffrages becomes the crowned ſlave of the republic.

We have thought it the more important to deſcribe the mechaniſm of the Venetian government, as there is reaſon to preſume, that, after having endured above a thouſand years, that machine is now broken for-ever. The capture of Venice by the French, and of all the ſtates of the Terra Firma, has occaſioned the flight of the doge Lewis Manino, who may naturally be conſidered as the laſt. The fate of that ancient republic remained ſome months in ſuſpenſe: but at length, by the ſixth article of the treaty of peace ſigned at Campo-Formio near Udina, on the ſeventeenth of October 1797, by general Buonaparte and the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, that poſſeſſion, ſo important by its ſituation, and which renders the Auſtrian monarch a maritime power, was ceded to that prince, and incorporated with his hereditary ſtates.

Ragusa.

Raguſa, a very ſmall republic ſituate in Dalmatia, may be conſidered as annexed to Venice, ſince it is under her protection, and pays her a tribute: but it is, on the ſame condition, protected alſo by the Turks; and it has frequently been ſuffered to remain neuter while thoſe two powers were at war with each other. It poſſeſſes a very limited territory; but it enjoys the advantage of an excellent harbour which cauſes its commerce to flouriſh. Raguſa is governed by a ſenate. The Raguſans are brave in war, and ſkilled in maritime affairs, apparently alſo good politicians, ſince they know how to ſacrifice money with ſufficient judgement to preſerve themſelves free, though ſo near to a deſpot and to a republic, often equally unſcrupulous of invading whatever ſuits their convenience.

Tuscany.

Tuſcany, between the Mediterranean, the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and the Apennine.

The grand-duchy of Tuſcany, with better cultivation, would be one of the moſt fertile tracts of Italy. Situate at the foot of the Apennine, it is ſufficiently watered, and produces corn, wine, oil, honey, manna, citrons, oranges, and other fruits of the fineſt quality. Variegated with mountains and plains, it poſſeſſes all the charms of the moſt favoured climes. Nevertheleſs, without any apparent cauſe to account for the effect, this country

does not exhibit ſo numerous a population as theſe natural advantages would ſeem to promiſe. It contains mines of iron, of ſulphur, of fluid and even ſolid ſilver, beſides alabaſter, jaſper, beautiful marbles, lapis lazuli, amethyſts, cornelians, alum, borax—riches which for the moſt part lie buried in the womb of earth for want of hands or induſtry. The ſalt-pits are well managed and very productive. Hot ſprings, held in great eſteem, offer ſalutary aid in ſeveral maladies. Although the ſtates of the grand-duke do not embrace the entire extent of ancient Etruria, he is nevertheleſs one of the moſt powerful princes of Italy. In a caſe of emergency, if well ſeconded by the people, he could, it is aſſerted, produce thirty thouſand men in arms, and ſend forth a fleet of thirty ſhips of war and twelve galleys.

Florence, ſo denominated becauſe ſituate amid florid plains and in a delightful poſition, is the capital of Tuſcany. Next to Rome, it is the firſt city in Italy that claims the viſit of the traveler. There he admires the palace of the Medici, who have formed in it the richeſt collection of ſculptures, pictures, ancient and modern jewels, and curioſities natural and artificial. Among the latter might be reckoned noblemen keeping ſhops, and not bluſhing at their occupation. So powerful is the honourable opinion and eſteem gained for commerce by the example of the former ſovereigns.

Piſa, the ſecond city of the duchy, has formerly been a republic, ſometimes the victorious rival of Florence, which at length ſubdued it. Sienna has experienced the ſame fate. The pure air which is here breathed has marked the ſpot for the reſidence of a numerous *nobleſſe*, whoſe reſort cauſes the Italian language to be here ſpoken in its greateſt purity. Livorno * is a free port, where commerce is for the moſt part carried on by the Jews, who compoſe about one half of the population. The duchy numbers twelve other cities, ſome of them formerly celebrated. The Tuſcans poſſeſs delicacy and taſte in literature, hereditary qualities deſcended from the ancient Etruſcans, to whom the Romans were indebted for their religion, their ſciences, and their police. Since the revival of the fine arts, Florence has been as it were their native ſpot; and it may be aſſerted that modern Europe lies under as great obligations to the Florentines, as ancient Rome owed to the Etruſcans.

Tuſcany participated the general fate of the reſt of Italy during the decadence of the Roman empire, paſſing from the hands of one power to thoſe of another, until the time of Charlemagne, who is thought to have given to Tuſcany her firſt counts, or marquiſes, or governors. No doubt it was the diſtrict intruſted to their care at the concluſion of

* Vulgarly called *Legbo n*.

the ſeventh century, that formed Tuſcany; and we may naturally conceive that diſtrict to have been more or leſs extenſive in proportion as thoſe who governed it poſſeſſed a greater or leſſer ſhare of ſtrength or ambition. The emperors uſually conferred it on their own relatives, or the great lords of their court.

We even find ſeveral contemporary dukes of Tuſcany, probably becauſe the emperors were glad of the opportunity which ſuch partition afforded them of multiplying their favours. Some of thoſe nobles, at different periods, found means to render the gift hereditary in their families: but they almoſt invariably paid homage for it to the emperors, from whom they appeared to receive it. We have a pretty exact liſt of thoſe princes, from the year 828, in the reign of Louis le Débonnaire, to 1115, in that of the emperor Henry the Fifth—a period of nearly three hundred years.

In the laſt-mentioned year, died the celebrated counteſs Matilda, who had, in 1077, made a donation of Tuſcany to the ſee of Rome. The emperor Henry V, who was then living, and the emperors his ſucceſſors, proteſted againſt that donation, which had been made to their prejudice, becauſe, ſaid they, the laſt poſſeſſor dying without iſſue, Tuſcany devolved to them as a fief of the empire. Accordingly they appointed governors of thoſe ſtates, under the title of preſidents or marquiſes of Tuſcany.

The popes did not eaſily obtain poſſeſſion of the valuable gift which had been beſtowed on them. The preſidents defended, in the emperors' name, thoſe rights which were advantageous to themſelves: but, in proportion as the imperial authority declined in Italy, that of the preſidents was enfeebled in Tuſcany, and the popes took advantage of its weakneſs. In the efforts which they made to ſecure to themſelves the principal parts of the donation, they were powerfully aided by the factions which aroſe in Italy at the commencement of the thirteenth century, eſpecially thoſe of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, which continued during ſo long a period of time, and cauſed ſo extenſive ravages.

The appellation and the celebrity of theſe two factions began about the year 1198 by the rivalry of Philip of Swabia and Otho IV, then competitors for the empire. The former, who derived his origin from the ancient family of the Ghibellini *, was oppoſed by the pope, who favoured Otho, a deſcendent of the houſe of Welf. On the occaſion of the oppoſite pretenſions of the popes, and of the emperors repreſented by their preſidents, the two factions gathered ſtrength in Tuſcany. The cities which aimed at independence joined the popes in expectation of being aided by them, and aſſumed the name of Guelfs; while the nobles who poſſeſſed fiefs attached themſelves to the emperor, under

* See a different origin of the name *Ghibelline* in the hiſtory of Germany in this volume, A.D. 1137—1152.

the appellation of Ghibellines. This ſtruggle continued during the entire twelfth century, and a part of the thirteenth. In that period were eſtabliſhed the republics—long the moſt general form of government in Italy.

There was no ſhape which that of Florence did not try, before it was ſettled on a firm and ſure foundation. The hiſtory of her efforts to create for herſelf a government begins with the thirteenth century. Till then the Florentines had quietly enough obeyed the emperors: but Frederic II, who was raiſed to the imperial throne in 1198, abuſed his authority at Florence. That he might not meet with any obſtacle in his tyrannic adminiſtration, he embroiled the nobility with the commons. The latter baniſhed the nobles: but, having their eyes opened by the exactions of the emperor, they recalled thoſe whom they had been inſtigated to expel. The two orders now in concert elected twelve magiſtrates, two from each of the ſix tribes into which the city was divided, and gave them the appellation of "ancients." Under this nearly paternal government, the Florentines proſpered themſelves, and became legiſlators for their neighbours, who appealed to them in all their controverſies. But this happy ſtate of affairs was not of long duration: they experienced among themſelves thoſe diſturbances which they appeaſed elſewhere.

Certain powerful families, among which is reckoned that of the Uberti who were chiefs of

the Ghibelline faction, attempted to domineer over their concitizens, and were driven into baniſhment. The exiles attacked their native city, and re-entered it ſword in hand. They committed diſorders in it, which cauſed them to be baniſhed a ſecond time. The grand misfortune of thoſe wars, and the circumſtance which prolonged their duration, was, that the two contending parties, under the names of Guelfs and Ghibellines, had recourſe, the former to the popes, the latter to the emperors, both of whom reſpectively ſent them aſſiſtance—deſtructive aſſiſtance, of which the reſult was ravage and ruin. Weary of fighting, the Florentine nobles and commons came to an agreement in 1266. They divided the city into corporations, and appointed to each corporation a magiſtrate. Theſe magiſtrates, united, were to take cogniſance of the diſputes between individuals, and to manage the public affairs. We are not told what preſident was appointed for this tribunal: but it appears that the preſidency was a cauſe of diſunion in the body itſelf. The leſs powerful party, together with their adherents, quitted the city, and were afterward refuſed admiſſion into it, when they aſked leave to return. The mediation of pope Nicolas reſtored peace between the contending factions. He ſent to them in 1277 a ſkilful conciliator, who induced the Guelfs and Ghibellines to join hands in amity. A magiſtracy was now created, conſiſting of fourteen perſons, ſeven from

Corporations, A.D. 1266.

each party. As an arbitration-fee, the pope was rewarded with the poſſeſſion of ſome caſtles.

Preſidents of corporations, A.D. 1282.

In 1282, the Florentines reformed the fourteen magiſtrates, and nominated preſidents of the corporations, whoſe number was augmented or diminiſhed according to circumſtances. Three of their body, in rotation, were raiſed to a ſuperiority over the others; and during the time of their pre-eminence, which continued two months, they were not permitted to attend to any other than public buſineſs, or even to viſit their own houſes. They remained as it were impriſoned in the ſtate-houſe, ready to anſwer every application. Under this government the Florentines advantageouſly cultivated thoſe arts which thrive in the ſunſhine of peace. The nobles were admitted to participate in the adminiſtration: but, for that purpoſe, it was neceſſary that their names ſhould be inſcribed in the corporation-liſts.

This ſubjection diſpleaſed ſeveral members of the nobility, although they were indebted to commerce for that wealth which inflated their pride. Their opulence rendered them impatient of ſubmiſſion to a magiſtracy whom they conſidered as only contemptible artiſans. Some of the nobles happening to inſult thoſe citizens, and to defy an authority which they ſaw unſupported by force, the corporations ſupplied the deficiency in their adminiſtration, by creating in 1288 a military chief whom they denominated the "*gonfaloniere* of

Gonfaloniere, A.D. 1288.

" juſtice." His function conſiſted in aſſembling the people around his *gonfalone* or ſtandard, on occaſion of the ſlighteſt diſturbance. Four counſellors were allotted to him, with two colonels. His command was limited to two months: he could be choſen only from the commons; and his ſoldiers, a thouſand in number, were alſo taken from the ſame claſs, without the admixture of even a ſingle noble. The nobility teſtified their diſſatisfaction at this excluſion, which was equally humiliating and dangerous to them. From murmurs they proceeded to complaints, from complaints to arms, and, after conſiderable effuſion of blood, to an agreement, which took place in the year 1300, and which perhaps ſolely owed its ſtability to a change of the object of contention.

Diſcord now ceaſed to rage between the commons and the nobles, and confined its fury to the ſuperior claſs. Divided by family-intereſts, the nobles ſeparated into two factions, the *white* and the *black*, who waged againſt each other in the city a war of pillage and aſſaſſination. The commons viewed their proceedings with the eye of indifference, regardleſs of the preponderancy of the one or the other party, ſince their conflicts ridded the people, without any interference on their part, of thoſe whom they conſidered as their natural enemies. It is not aſcertained whether it was on this occaſion, or for the purpoſe of reſtricting the authority which ſome gonfaloniere had perhaps

abuſed, that a conſiderable portion of it was tranſ-
Executor of juſtice, A.D. 1306. ferred to a magiſtrate denominated the "executor of juſtice." He was created in 1306: and, to inſure his impartiality, it was ordained that he ſhould not be a native of Florence, or even of Tuſcany.

The final iſſue of all theſe changes, as the reader is almoſt prepared to expect, was that the Florentines ſubjected themſelves to a maſter. In 1313, they placed themſelves under the dominion
Robert king of Naples, A.D. 1313. of Robert king of Naples. Afterward, become ſenſible of the diſadvantage they had incurred by ſubmitting to a prince who involved them in quarrels and engaged them in a foreign war, they elected, in 1321, twelve citizens who were to act as a check upon the power which the king of Naples gave to his agents in their city. Their Neapolitan maſters had baniſhed a part of the Florentine nobility as the moſt capable of oppoſing their attempts. The people recalled the exiles with the view of deriving from them an acceſſion of ſtrength: and, in 1325, they created magiſtrates
Heads of tribes, A.D. 1325. whoſe election was intruſted to the heads of tribes, lords, and counſellors, and conducted in ſuch manner that thoſe electors were to put into an urn the names of ſuch perſons as they thought the beſt qualified for the office, and thence to draw them by lot. Every individual, of what condition ſoever, was entitled to have his name put into the urn; but it is probable that the electors—who

were the heads of tribes, lords, and counſellors, and conſequently the chief men in the city—preconcerted matters ſo well as to prevent any names from coming out of the urn except thoſe of men of nearly their own rank. Notwithſtanding this civil government, the Florentines ſtill continued to acknowledge the ſovereignty of the Neapolitans.

Florence did not ſhake off her foreign ſubjection until the year 1329, when ſhe became at length weary of the exactions of the Neapolitans, and could no longer ſee with patience the immenſe ſums of which they drained her. On this occaſion the Florentines formed for themſelves a new conſtitution: they eſtabliſhed two councils, the one conſiſting of members excluſively choſen from the commons, the other compoſed of nobles and *notable* burghers. Theſe *notable* burghers, as diſtinguiſhed from the commons, preſent as it were a third eſtate; and the two councils, an upper and a lower houſe. There is ſaid to have been a conſpiracy formed againſt this eſtabliſhment: but the manner in which the plot appears on the ſcene induces a belief that it was only a fiction deviſed by the government for the purpoſe of ridding themſelves of ſome ſuſpected citizens—a ſtratagem which is not unexampled in the annals of republics.

Two councils, A.D. 1329.

Theſe continual changes in the form of the government excited the regret of ſome, and the hopes of others, and kept the public mind in a

ſtate of uneaſineſs and a diſpoſition to turbulency. The government by two councils, the one entirely compoſed of commoners, the other uniting nobles and plebeians, approached nearer to democracy than to ariſtocracy, and was not reliſhed by the people. The councils availed themſelves of a war againſt Lucca, to perſuade the people that there could not be found in their own claſs an experienced general, that one taken from among the nobles would be juſtly liable to ſuſpicion, and that, of courſe, it became neceſſary to appoint a foreigner. They directed the public choice to a Lombard adventurer, by name Walter, who ſtyled himſelf duke of Calabria. The nobles imagined, that, as he was chiefly indebted to them for his appointment, he would favour their party. As ſoon as he found himſelf veſted with the command, he began to court the good graces of the commons, yet with the approbation of the *nobleſſe*, to whom he inſinuated that his only view in ſeeking to acquire authority was to ſhare it with them: but, as ſoon as he felt himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong, he invaded the ſovereignty—an event which happened in 1343.

Foreign general, A.D. 1343.

He did not, however, long retain his uſurped power; but it was more through his own fault, than through the inconſtancy of the Florentines, that he loſt it. Walter treated them ſo tyrannically that the commons, the third eſtate, and the *nobleſſe*, all unanimouſly revolted againſt him

and expelled him from their city. As he had, under pretence of reform, overturned all their former inſtitutions, every thing was now in confuſed diſorder. The Florentines choſe fourteen perſons whom they commiſſioned to give ſome form to their government: and theſe delegates nominated eight *ancients* or *ſeniors*—four from the nobility and four from the commons—who were intruſted with unlimited power. The commons, who were the more numerous body, were alarmed and diſguſted by this equality; and, the flame of reſentment ſpreading, a battle enſued. The nobles were defeated; and the popular party—ſuppoſed to have been the third eſtate, called likewiſe *notables*—conferred the higheſt offices of government on thoſe of their own body who were the leaſt diſtinguiſhed by profuſion of expenſe, and whoſe merit appeared the leaſt formidable.

Ancients or ſeniors, A.D. 1344.

Under this purely democratic government the Florentines obtained great ſucceſſes in ſeveral wars againſt their neighbours, and re-eſtabliſhed their finances. As they were deeply involved in debt, they created bonds on the ſtate, which they gave to their creditors. Theſe bonds were negotiable, transferable, and roſe or ſank in value according as the affairs of the ſtate took a proſperous or unpromiſing turn. The funds of the republic thus became an object of commerce, and were bought and ſold like other articles of merchandiſe. This

was, no doubt, the origin of thoſe papers or bills of credit ſent into circulation about the year 1345.

The Florentines found themſelves ſo happy under this democratic government, that, through apprehenſion leſt it ſhould ſuffer any detrimental change from the influence of two powerful families, the Albizi and the Ricci, they ordained in 1374 that no individual of either of thoſe families ſhould ever be promoted to public employments: but they extended their precaution too far in attempting to eſtabliſh another rule, by which the deſcendents of thoſe nobles who had formerly been proſcribed ſhould be declared incapable of filling any poſt of magiſtracy. The nobles at whom this blow was leveled, exclaimed againſt it, and gained over to their intereſts the ancients or ſeniors, who treated the populace with ſome roughneſs. The multitude, however, gained the aſcendency, and conferred the poſt of gonfaloniere on a wool-comber, by name Michael Lando.

Michael Lando, gonfaloniere, A.D. 1374.

Lando proved himſelf a man of abilities and reſolution. Thoſe who had elected him demanding of him in an imperative tone certain things which he thought unjuſt, he refuſed them. The populace, incenſed by his non-compliance, tumultuouſly elected other magiſtrates, and ſent the gonfaloniere a deputation, who ſpoke to him in the language of inſolence. Lando draws his ſword, ſtrikes one of thoſe impertinent ſpeech-makers over the face with

it, plunges it into the body of another, puts the reſt to flight, and, ſeiſing his banner in one hand while with the other he graſps his weapon, ſallies forth, and invites all true lovers of their country to follow him. Some brave citizens joining his ſtandard, he courageouſly advances to the ſpot where the pretended magiſtrates had been aſſembled, but finds it deſerted. The inſurgents had commenced their march to the palace by a different route: Lando purſues, attacks, diſperſes them. He then cauſes a new election to be made, in which the nobles bore away all the advantage: but, after having humbled the commons, a new arrangement was adopted by the advice of the gonfaloniere, which gave them ſatisfaction: the corporations were divided into greater and leſſer; the latter of which, being the more numerous, were allowed five *ſeniors* or magiſtrates, while only four were granted to the others. In conſequence of this regulation, all the Florentines naturally ranged themſelves either in the claſs of the *notables* who were the more opulent, or in the popular claſs which compriſed the leſs wealthy citizens. Notables, and popular claſs.

The appellations of *noble* and *commoner* ſeemed to be forgotten: but the animoſity between thoſe two caſts was revived by ſome calumnious aſperſions thrown on certain nobles. They were accuſed of an intention to deliver the city into the hands of Charles of Durazzo, pretendant to the

Neapolitan throne. The commons were inflamed with fury: the accuſed nobles, bold in conſcious innocence, conſented to have their cauſe tried, and ſpontaneouſly preſented themſelves before the tribunal. After mature examination, the magiſtrates pronounced them guiltleſs: but the populace ſurrounded the judges, and would have torn them to pieces, if they had not recommenced the trial, and condemned the culprits, who were accordingly executed.

Recovered from their phrenſy, the people were ſo much aſhamed of the tranſaction that they ſubmitted to various reſtrictions impoſed on them by the nobility. The latter recalled all the members of their body who were in baniſhment: they took away certain privileges from the leſſer corporations: they aſſigned to the plebeians only one third of the public employments, excluding them moreover from thoſe of the greateſt importance, and depriving them of the privilege of having a gonfaloniere choſen from their body. The nobles, more ſucceſsful than they could have reaſonably expected, had not the prudence to act with moderation in the hour of proſperity. All the *notables* who had taken part in ſupport of the former conſtitution which was favourable to the people, were mal-treated: the great ſervices which Michael Lando had rendered to his country did not exempt him from the proſcription, which was extended by the nobles even to thoſe of their own

caſt whom they conſidered as not having diſplayed ſufficient zeal in defending the privileges of their order.

Amid this turmoil of paſſions which diſturbed the peace of the Florentine families, there was one which had invariably been diſtinguiſhed by its moderation and rigid impartiality—we mean the Medici, who had been invited to Florence by the public eſteem. Antecedently they had lived in a neighbouring diſtrict, whither the Florentines repaired to ſeek their advice in embarraſſing conjunctures, and whence they invited them to their city in the year 1250. From that period they had been held in equal conſideration both by the nobles and the plebeians, and they were indiſcriminately admitted to the public offices intended for both orders. They confined themſelves as ſtrictly as they could within the circle of neutrality: ſometimes that line was reſpected; ſometimes they were compelled to ſtep beyond it; and they more than once found themſelves expoſed to acts of violence.

In 1424 the diſaſtrous events of a war againſt the duke of Milan required an augmentation of the public burdens. The buſineſs was ſo prudently managed as to throw the greater part of the weight upon the ſhoulders of the rich. But theſe were not ſatisfied with the apportionment: and as the people, deeply intereſted in the mode of diſtribution adopted, were determined to ſup-

port it, the nobles, who were in poſſeſſion of the principal offices in the commonwealth, aſſembled to deliberate on the means of introducing a new table of rates, and forcing the plebeians to ſubmit to it. Here ſome of the moſt clear-ſighted among them ſaid that it would be impoſſible to ſucceed in their plan without the conſent of John de' Medici, who was then gonfaloniere of the people, and who had avoided appearing at the aſſembly. It was agreed that they ought to endeavour to gain him over: but, to thoſe who were ſent to him for the purpoſe, he replied that he never would concur in any meaſure which they ſhould attempt to the prejudice of the plebeians. At the ſame time, however, he prevailed on the people to ſhow ſome deference to the nobility; and both parties made conciliatory advances toward each other. Thus the prudence of a ſingle man allayed the ſtorm which was ready to burſt forth, and which was the more dangerous as the object was money—the uſual ſource of all thoſe paſſions which diſturb the reaſon of the populace, and hurry them to the greateſt exceſſes.

John de' Medici died in 1428, after having by the whole tenor of his life merited this eulogium, that, ſince the days of Atticus, there never has exiſted a man who could ſo dextrouſly conduct himſelf amid oppoſing factions, and avoid all reproach, while poſſeſſed of great riches. The advantage of abundant wealth was common to him

with the other nobles, who acquired immenſe property by trade: but a commendation peculiar to John de' Medici was his boundleſs generoſity, and a charity whoſe boons were never retarded by the ſlowneſs of examination. He made no inquiry concerning the perſons of thoſe who were its objects: all he wiſhed to know was their neceſſities; and theſe he alleviated as ſoon as he became acquainted with them. Never did he court the offices of ſtate: they were conferred on him almoſt againſt his will. The mildneſs of his character was unſuſceptible of vindictive emotions; and he felt no ſenſations but thoſe of pity for the perſons who offended him. Diſintereſted and unambitious, he died univerſally beloved. By an inſtance of good fortune very uncommon in a popular ſtate, he owed his influence, not to the powers of oratory in which he did not excel, but to his rare prudence. His ſon Coſmo, inheritor of his credit and his wealth, would perhaps have led as peaceful a life as his father, perhaps not have aimed at greater power, if the jealouſy of his enemies had not as it were compelled him to render himſelf the maſter of the republic, though without openly bearing the title.

Coſmo de' Medici, A.D. 1430.

He conducted himſelf according to the maxim of his father and his progenitors, which was, to declare in favour of no party, to oblige alike every individual, to gain affection by his munificence, and eſteem by his virtues. Different however

from John de' Medici, Cosmo's conduct did not convince the world that his beneficent acts flowed from so pure a source as those of his ancestors. He was suspected of ambitious views. At Athens he would have been subjected to the ostracism, as equally formidable both for his riches and his brilliant qualifications: at Florence, envy sharpened and aimed at him weapons of more dangerous kind. Rinaldo d'Albizi, a citizen professing himself a rigid republican, openly declared himself his opponent, employed the arts of intrigue, procured the election of a gonfaloniere of his own way of thinking, and engaged him, as soon as he had entered upon his office, to summon Cosmo to his tribunal. Medici appeared before him, and was immediately arrested. Albizi presented himself in arms in the public square, and obtained the nomination of a council of two hundred, commissioned to reform the state and bring Cosmo to trial.

From the tower in which he was confined, the prisoner heard that very people who before had seemed so warmly attached to him, now tumultuously crying out in the square—some, that he deserved to be banished—others, that he ought to be dragged away to execution. He was also afraid of poison, and continued four days in that perplexity, eating only so much bread—nor even that without terror—as was sufficient to preserve him from starving. From the recesses of his confinement he found means to procure a distribution of money

among the people, and escaped without suffering any thing worse than banishment. He retired to Venice in 1434, and was there well received. During his absence, which was of a year's continuance, his friends so effectually exerted themselves that the people changed their opinion and recalled him. His return resembled a triumph: and now were Albizi and his adherents compelled to leave him master of the field. He obtained the post of gonfaloniere; and banishment, confiscations, fines, imprisonment, even death, became the portion of those who had persecuted him.

He spared such of the nobles and *notables* as had not shown themselves conspicuously rancorous in their enmity to him, and permitted some of them to remain in the city: but he reduced them to the plebeian class, and shared among his partisans the property of those he had driven into exile. In the elections, all those were excluded from the scrutiny on whom dependence could not be placed. The criminal magistrates were chosen from among the chiefs of the party, and appointed to the number of seven, with the power of life and death, without appeal. It being ordained by the ancient laws that banishment should only be temporary, it was now determined that the exiles, after the expiration of their term, should not be allowed to return into the state, unless their remigration were sanctioned by the consent of thirty-four out of thirty-seven members who composed the board of

ſeniors. All correſpondence with the exiles was prohibited. A ſingle word, a geſture, a ſign, to which an equivocal interpretation could be given, was ſufficient to cauſe a man to be treated as a ſuſpected perſon, and either baniſhed or impriſoned: but it does not appear that the women were ſubject to theſe rigorous proceedings. In a word, every imaginable expedient was employed to give ſtability to the government, even that of forming a league with the pope and the Venetians for the purpoſe of defending it againſt the attempts of its enemies. Accordingly it endured ten years without ſuffering any concuſſion. At the expiration of that period, in 1444, a commotion took place; but it was appeaſed by the expulſion of the malcontents, and the prevailing party conſolidated their power.

After the lapſe of fifteen years more, another effort was made to ſhake the edifice which Coſmo had erected. Fully convinced of its ſolidity, that great man ſuffered his jealous and intriguing adverſaries to try their ſtrength againſt it; being perſuaded that the public wiſh would at length return to his regulations and to the mode of government which he had planned. With the view of abridging his authority, his enemies obtained the introduction of a new mode of electing the magiſtrates: but Coſmo had ſo judiciouſly concerted his meaſures, that none but his friends were found eligible. Fruſtrated in that expectation, the ſame envious

cabal formed the project of reſtoring to the commons their priſtine power. Coſmo ſuffered them to proceed: but no ſooner were the people in poſſeſſion of authority than they abuſed it; and thoſe who had procured it for them came to entreat Coſmo that he might bring the plebeians back to their duty. He conſented to undertake the taſk, provided that no violence ſhould be employed; and his interpoſition proved ſucceſsful. Luke Pitti was at this time gonfaloniere—a vain oſtentatious man, but ill provided with wealth. Medici profuſely ſupplied him with the means of gratifying his deſires, particularly his taſte for building. He erected two ſuperb palaces, the one without the city, the other within. The latter is called the Pitti palace, and is one of the moſt magnificent in Europe. It has ſince been the conſtant reſidence of the grand-dukes of Tuſcany, and ſtill attracts the admiration of foreigners.

Coſmo de' Medici died at the age of ſeventy-five years, without poſſeſſing any title in the republic at the time of his death, but honoured, in his deſcent to the tomb, with that of the "Father "of his country," to which poſterity have added the ſurname of the "Great." From the immenſe riches which he and his family accumulated, it is preſumed that they were acquainted with ſome ſecret channels through which the tide of Indian commerce flowed, and that thoſe channels have ſince been rendered uſeleſs by the diſcovery of the

paſſage round the cape of Good Hope. None of the kings or princes of his age, we may even add of ſucceeding times, expended ſo much wealth as he and his deſcendents in magnificent edifices, in acts of generoſity and charity, and for the encouragement of the arts and ſciences. He lent conſiderable ſums to the ſtate, of which he never demanded the re-imburſement; and there was hardly a citizen in Florence whom he did not oblige with pecuniary aid, unaſked. His religious foundations are capable of exciting aſtoniſhment: yet he was not a bigot, and was accuſtomed to ſay that "men "are not to be led with a roſary." Beſides his palace at Florence, he had in different places four others ſurpaſſing thoſe of monarchs. Amid this truly regal luxury, Coſmo was modeſt and unaffected in his perſon and manners. He always appeared in the ſtyle of a ſimple citizen, and married his daughters and grand-daughters to the moſt worthy of his compatriots. He was not verſed in literature; yet that circumſtance did not prevent him from being a moſt liberal patron of learned men. To him the world is indebted for the revival of the arts in Italy. His boſom harboured but a ſingle paſſion—that of rendering his country ſplendid and powerful.

Peter I. A. D. 1466. His ſon Peter, entering on his father's rights, ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by a pretended friend who was in reality a ſecret enemy to his family. Seeing him ſomewhat embarraſſed in his

affairs, that perfidious counſellor adviſed him to re-demand, as well of the republic as of individuals, the ſums for which he had found ſecurities among his father's papers. This requiſition, for which they were not prepared, created many malcontents, and was followed by numerous bankruptcies, of which the blame was thrown on Medici. His enemies drew up a memorial againſt him, and circulated it among their partiſans for the purpoſe of obtaining ſignatures. Medici circulated one in oppoſition to it; and it was found that many of the ſame names were ſubſcribed to both theſe contrary proteſts.

The time of electing the magiſtrates was uſually that in which the activity of cabal was exerted. In 1466, a party was formed, whoſe object was to overturn the government, and aboliſh the extraordinary council which Coſmo had eſtabliſhed, but merely as proviſional, and whoſe term of exiſtence was now expired. Peter, though ſick at the time, and enfeebled by habitual infirmities, conducted himſelf on the occaſion with great firmneſs. He ſupported his father's eſtabliſhment; and his adverſaries were driven into exile. Among their number, was Agnolo Acciaioli, who, having formerly been attached to the Medici, and now growing weary of his baniſhment, wrote to Peter, to remind him of their previous connexions, and of the ſervices which his family had rendered to their country. In oppoſing him, he ſaid, he had enter-

tained no intention of injuring him, nor any other view than the welfare of the republic. Peter haughtily anſwered him—"You will never con-
"vince any man that Florence has derived greater
"ſplendor or received ſtronger marks of attach-
"ment from the Acciaioli than from the Medici.
"Live therefore in diſgrace where you are, ſince
"you did not chooſe to live here with honour."

This firmneſs which Peter ſhowed to his enemies, he alſo cauſed to be felt by thoſe of his own partiſans who abuſed his credit or his name for the commiſſion of acts of injuſtice. Confined to his bed by ſickneſs, he ſummoned them to his chamber, reproached them with their ambition and rapacity, with having ſhared the ſpoils of the exiles, with ſeiſing on the revenues of the ſtate and all the public employments, oppreſſing the innocent, and making a traffic of juſtice. "If you
"continue," added he, "you will make me re-
"gret my ſucceſſes: but I will make you repent
"in turn of the ill uſe you have made of them."
It is ſaid, that, finding his remonſtrances ineffectual, he was inclined to recall the exiles, that they might repreſs the inſolence of thoſe who ruled the republic, when he was carried off by death in the year 1472. He left two ſons, Lorenzo and Julian, who were too young to enter on the management of ſtate-affairs. But Thomas Soderini, their father's friend, preſented them to the aſſembly of the people as the children of the republic; and the

crowd received them with ſhouts of acclamation. Lorenzo and Julian, A.D. 1472.

However powerful Coſmo and Peter de' Medici had been, they were not, however, chiefs of the republic by any title which conferred on them a legitimate authority. The tribunals, councils, heads of corporations, gonfaloniere, exiſted as uſual: but they were all of the party of the Medici, and influenced by them, ſo that the other families, ſome of which were of conſiderable note, either were deſtitute of influence, or were indebted for it to the toleration or protection of the predominating family. The Pazzi family, the moſt important of thoſe that laboured under that diſadvantage, determined to emancipate themſelves from a yoke which they impatiently endured, and to take off the two Medici, who, though yet in the years of youth, were conſidered as the heads of their family.

It is ſaid that love had a great ſhare in the conſpiracy formed by the Pazzi againſt the life of the two brothers. Julian and one of the Pazzi paid their addreſſes to the ſame lady. Julian was the favoured ſuitor; and Pazzi united his hatred of a ſucceſsful rival to the deſire of avenging the cauſe of his family. The poignard of jealouſy ſtruck a ſurer blow than that which was aimed by the hand of ambition; and Julian alone fell under the aſſaſſins' ſteel. The horror of this atrocious murder

was augmented by an affecting circumſtance: while the congregated multitude were haſtily fleeing from the church where the crime had been committed, a female—the ſame, perhaps, who had been the object of Pazzi's jealouſy—forces her way through the crowd—caſts herſelf on the bleeding corſe—bedews it with her tears—calls the Eternal to witneſs that ſhe is his ſpouſe—that the child ſhe bears in her womb is the offspring of their legitimate union. This ſpectacle was not neceſſary to excite the general indignation: the aſſaſſins are purſued, ſeiſed, hanged from the windows of the houſes where they had taken ſhelter. It was ordered that Lorenzo ſhould have a guard: and thus that conſpiracy, which promiſed to annihilate the Medici, opened for them the path to ſovereignty: but their enjoyment of it was only tranſient.

That ſkilful politician, it is to be remarked, took particular care to employ, for the purpoſe of giving ſtability to his power, a mean which ſeldom fails of ſucceſs with the people—that of never ſuffering their attention to be diſengaged. He was almoſt conſtantly embarked in ſome wars, of which the variegated ſucceſſes diverted the thoughts of the citizens from the affairs of government. While hoſtilities continued, it would not have been prudent to meddle with the adminiſtration. The people were ſenſible of this; and, while their anxious

ſolicitude was beſtowed on the tranſactions abroad, they did not perceive the chains which were forged for them at home.

Another mode of diverting the attention of the people was that of ſhows and pleaſures. An entertainment is mentioned, of which the preparations laſted five months. Univerſal Italy crowded to Florence, whoſe riches rendered it the meeting-point of all thoſe who were eager for amuſement. The duke and ducheſs of Milan repaired thither, and experienced a magnificent reception. Opulence and eaſe had already relaxed the nerves of the Florentines: their youth in particular indulged in the greateſt exceſſes of luxury, which was yet farther increaſed by the preſence of a voluptuous court whom they wiſhed to amuſe. The Milaneſe and the Florentines vied with each other in irregularity, and took a pride in violating at their feaſts the rigid laws of Lent, which till then had never been infringed. Every thing was allowed becauſe Medici was intereſted in permitting every thing. We muſt however do him the juſtice to ſay that Florence never was ſo powerful or diſplayed ſo great magnificence as under his adminiſtration. He cauſed the arts and ſciences to flouriſh there to a higher degree than they had ever attained in any other nation, the Athenians excepted. He died, honoured with the title of the "Father of the "Muſes." After his death, all the princes of Italy

ſent embaſſadors with compliments of condolence to the republic.

Peter II. A.D. 1492. His ſon, by name Peter, commenced, under unhappy auſpices, his adminiſtration, if that name can be given to a ſimple preponderancy in the republic. Italy was at that time invaded by Charles VIII. In 1494, Peter de' Medici, thinking to ſecure his own power by the protection of that youthful conqueror, went without authority to conclude with him a treaty by which he abandoned to the monarch certain fortreſſes which opened for him the road to Florence. When he returned to procure the ratification of the treaty, he was ill received, and obliged to ſeek ſafety in flight. Charles, however, advanced toward the city, which could not refuſe to admit him: but he did not there do every thing that he wiſhed. He had introduced a band of ſoldiers: the Florentines, on the other hand, had aſſembled in arms. A diſpute took place reſpecting the conditions: Charles inſiſted on leaving agents in the city after his departure, who, under the title of "miniſters of the "long robe," ſhould poſſeſs a certain juriſdiction: but Capponi, one of the magiſtrates, thinking too ſevere the propoſitions which were read to him as the final reſolution, ſnatched the paper from the hands of the ſecretary, and tore it, crying out with a loud voice, "Well! let your drums beat; and "we will ring our bells." The French, imagining

that ſuch boldneſs was ſupported by ſome forces of which they were unappriſed, lowered their terms. By the treaty that was concluded, the decree was repealed by which the property of Peter and his brothers had been ſentenced to confiſcation and themſelves to baniſhment; but under the tacit condition that they ſhould not approach within thirty leagues of the city.

From this moment Florence fancied herſelf free, and now turned her thoughts entirely to the formation of her government. Antony Soderini propoſed the following plan—that there ſhould be a general aſſembly—that all the officers and magiſtrates ſhould be nominated by that aſſembly, which was to be permanent—that it ſhould chooſe particular magiſtrates to frame new laws, to regulate the principal affairs of ſtate, ſuch as peace and war, and to regulate them independently of the general council, becauſe affairs of that nature often require ſuperior knowledge, with diſpatch and ſecrecy, ſuch as are not to be expected in a general aſſembly. This is what Soderini called a democratic and popular government: but Veſpucci proved that it was an ariſtocracy, which wanted nothing to complete it except a doge; that moreover the plan was chimerical, impracticable, and incompatible with the Florentine character; that Florence would, under a popular government if that propoſed by Soderini was ſuch, only paſs from one extreme to the other—from the tyranny of

the great men to unbridled licentiouſneſs, which was the worſt ſpecies of tyranny. Veſpucci, to prove his aſſertion, appealed to the hiſtory of Athens and Rome. He wiſhed to leave to the people the bare election of the magiſtrates in their general aſſembly, and to thoſe magiſtrates, ſelected by ballot, the management of the public affairs for a limited time. Thus, as ſoon as the election ſhould be completed, the people were to be deprived of all their authority.

While the public opinion wavered between the oppoſite alternatives, whether the people ſhould retain any weight after the election, or be then reduced to a cipher, the knot of difficulty was cut aſunder by a fanatic monk of the Dominican order, Jerom Savonarola, who had acquired great reputation in the city by his preaching, and gained the character of a prophet by ſome obſcure predictions which he had boldly haſarded. This monk declared it to be the will of God that Florence ſhould be governed by the people; and his oracular deciſion was ſo generally adopted by the populace that no individual dared to contradict it. It was therefore determined that all the citizens ſhould be entitled to participate in the government. Nevertheleſs, by the refinements of interpretation, the right of voting in the general aſſembly was taken from certain claſſes which the former laws had excluded on account perhaps of their poverty, or for other reaſons: and, that the people might

not loſe all their influence after the elections, it was ordained that they ſhould poſſeſs the privilege of ſanctioning by their approbation the laws framed by the magiſtrates.

Savonarola for ſome time triumphed in the power which he had procured for the people, of whom he was the idol. But the ill uſe which he made of his credit, by inſpiring the populace with the boldneſs to ſtruggle againſt the magiſtrates, cauſed the latter to form the reſolution of deſtroying him. They employed againſt him ſimilar weapons to thoſe which he himſelf wielded: to the Dominican they oppoſed a Cordelier, who preached alſo, and by his enthuſiaſm gained a ſhare of the popular favour. The two rivals challenged each other. The partiſans of Savonarola promiſed a miracle, but failed in the performance; in conſequence of which, his influence ſenſibly declined. To the adoration of the people ſucceeded their hatred. The magiſtrates, who only wiſhed to rid themſelves of his importunity, would have wiſhed him to make his eſcape: but he did not chooſe to do it. He was therefore arreſted, and put to the torture to force from him ſome diſcovery which might furniſh ground of criminal accuſation. He acknowledged, it was ſaid, that he had made improper uſe of the confidential ſecrets of auricular confeſſion: and the people, now undeceived, or more ſucceſsfully deceived than before, acquieſcently ſaw their late favourite hanged and burned.

The popular government, as had been well foreſeen, did not confine itſelf within the prudent bounds which the conſtitution preſcribed. The general council placed men without talents at the head of affairs. In their hands the public intereſts ſuffered: in 1498, a ſcarcity of proviſions was felt; and this calamity, added to other misfortunes, excited a regret for the government of the Medici. A conſpiracy was formed in their favour: but it failed of effect, leſs however through the oppoſition of the people, than that of ſome illuſtrious families who were apprehenſive of being eclipſed by their preſence. Four perſons of diſtinction, who had declared for the Medici, ſuffered capital puniſhment. But this cataſtrophe did not diſcourage their ſurviving partiſans, who returned to the charge with greater ſucceſs in 1512.

Since the year 1494, when Peter had been driven from Florence, he had continued hovering around that city: but he never re-entered it, having been drowned in the Garigliano. He had two brothers yet very young—John already a cardinal, and afterward pope under the name of Leo X—and Julian. The city was then governed by the general council and a gonfaloniere named Soderini: but John, decorated with the honours of the church, ſupported there by his largeſſes the party of his family.

Soderini had ſuffered the town of Prato to be

taken by the French after a defeat which had diſabled him from defending it. This event, which was only a misfortune naturally reſulting from the fickleneſs of Fortune who daily changes ſides, was repreſented as the conſequence of premeditated treachery. The people murmured, and ſhowed themſelves inimically diſpoſed toward their gonfaloniere. Every meaſure was preconcerted, to take advantage of the firſt workings of indignation. Three young noblemen, Veltori, Albizi, and Valori, friends of the Medici, preſent themſelves at the palace-gate, enter without oppoſition, proceed directly to the gonfaloniere's apartment, threaten to kill him if he do not inſtantly quit the city, and promiſe to ſpare him if he will comply. Soderini obeys and departs. The conſpirators aſſemble the magiſtrates, and urge them to depoſe the gonfaloniere in due form. They perform the taſk with reluctance: the cardinal de' Medici, who ſtood without the door, is introduced, and only requeſts that his family, and thoſe who had followed its fortune, be re-admitted into their native city as private individuals, and allowed to recover ſuch parts of their property as had been alienated by confiſcation, on re-imburſing to the purchaſers the ſums they had paid, together with the contingent expenſes.

This requeſt was too moderate to admit of a refuſal. "Give me a reſting point," ſaid Archimedes, "and I will lift the earth." In like man- Julian II. A.D. 1512.

ner, let an ambitious man once obtain a footing, and he will ſoon have tranſcended every obſtacle. The Florentines, foreſeeing what conſequences might enſue from the return of the Medici, fenced themſelves with every precaution againſt the oppreſſive ſchemes of that family. A council of eighty was eſtabliſhed, in which all the great affairs were regulated, and which was changed every ſix months. It was determined that none ſhould ever be admitted into it who had not paſſed through all the higher offices of the ſtate. Thus it muſt of courſe be always compoſed of men of experience and well verſed in public buſineſs. In addition, it was ordered that the gonfaloniere, who in the firſt ebullitions of popular enthuſiaſm had been declared perpetual, ſhould be annually elected.

Theſe arrangements by no means co-incided with the views of the Medici. The cardinal, and his brother Julian whom he guided, cautiouſly avoided making direct oppoſition to them: but he gained over the plebeians by affability and largeſſes, won by his liberalities the factious indigent young nobles, who were paſſionately fond of luxury, and who led a life of idleneſs at Florence. He ſecretly introduced into the city a number of Spaniſh ſoldiers, and found a pretext for cauſing a general aſſembly to be convoked. While the people were occupied in deliberation, they were ſuddenly ſurrounded, and required to nominate

fifteen perſons into whoſe hands they ſhould ſurrender all their powers. The buſineſs had been ſo well preconcerted that thoſe fifteen perſons were excluſively choſen from among the friends of the Medici. They aſſumed the title of the "ſupreme "council," and re-eſtabliſhed the government in the ſame form which it had worn previous to the expulſion of the Medici. The latter now reſumed their former rank, and governed with more abſolute ſway than at any preceding period: they were even allowed a conſtant guard.

John, being elevated to the papacy in 1513, reſigned all the authority to Julian II, who took the conduct of his father Lorenzo as the model of his own, and by his virtues won the affection of his concitizens. He died young, and left only one ſon, named Hippolytus, whoſe legitimacy was not ſatisfactorily aſcertained. Leo X, either for that reaſon or in conſequence of ſome other defect, cauſed Julian's place to be filled by his nephew Lorenzo the ſon of his elder brother Peter the exile, who was already of fit age to manage the reins of government.

This prince is deſignated by the appellation of Lorenzo the younger. * * * * * His adminiſtration was marked with the features of indolence. He died in 1519, without leaving any legitimate ſon, but having acknowledged as his own the ſon of a miſtreſs whoſe favours he had

enjoyed in common, it is ſaid, with many others. The youth's name was Alexander.

Julius de' Medici, A.D. 1519.

Another baſtard, Julius de' Medici, natural ſon of Lorenzo I, was at this time archbiſhop of Florence, and a member of the college of cardinals. In his own perſon, with the ſpiritual he united the temporal authority, which he retained until he was elected pope in 1523 under the appellation of Clement VII. He then ſent to Florence, as his lieutenants, Hippolytus and Alexander—the former a cardinal and natural ſon to Julian I—the latter the illegitimate offspring of Lorenzo II. This choice diſpleaſed the nobility, who were the more ſenſibly hurt as they learned that the ſovereign pontif was preparing to ſet over them, as a maſter, Alexander II, the illegitimate ſon of his brother, if indeed he was not the ſon of the pope himſelf. In 1527 a violent commotion aroſe among the nobles; but the plebeians took little ſhare in it. Alexander and Hippolytus entered into a negotiation. By well-timed and judicious ſacrifices they appeaſed thoſe who envied the authority of their family, and raiſed it to the commanding poſt of eminence from which it had been compelled to deſcend. They ſank again at the period of the confinement of Clement VII, who ſuffered himſelf to be ſhut up in the caſtle of Saint-Angelo by the army of the *connétable* de Bourbon.

But a more fatal ſtroke was prepared for them

by the miſmanagement and enthuſiaſm of a female of their own family. Clariſſa de' Medici, the wife of Philip Strozzi and aunt of Alexander and Hippolytus, ſuffered her mind to be dazzled with the brilliant project of reſtoring liberty to her country. She poſſeſſed conſiderable aſcendency over her huſband, who was good-natured and of eaſy diſpoſition. Secure on that ſide, ſhe goes to her two nephews, and exhorts them to ſubmit, in favour of their country, to the ſacrifice of an unlawful authority. There exiſts not a doubt that in this ſtep ſhe acted in concert with a powerful faction, who made uſe of her interpoſition, that they might not be traverſed in their ſchemes by Strozzi who commanded the forces of Florence. Clariſſa was ſincere in her intentions: ſhe had no other object in view than the liberty of her country; and ſhe did not perceive, that, while ſhe kept her nephews engaged in deliberation, ſhe cauſed them to loſe thoſe precious moments which their enemies employed to advantage. In effect, during the time ſpent by thoſe princes in parleying as well with her as with her huſband, the general council aſſemble, annul every thing that had been done at the period when—on the recall of the Medici, obtained by the cardinal, afterward Leo X—the council of ſixteen had been created; and they reſtore to the republic the old form of adminiſtration which had prevailed previous to that epoch—that is to ſay, a popular government. They added

a declaration that the pope's nephews ſhould be at liberty to remain at Florence, and even enjoy certain privileges: but they, not thinking themſelves in ſafety there, forbore to avail themſelves of that condeſcenſion, and quitted the city with the conſent of Strozzi. The people were diſpleaſed that their uncle had not cauſed them to be arreſted: and, as they ſeiſed on ſome fortreſſes during their abſence from Florence, a report was ſpread that there exiſted a colluſion between the uncle and the nephews. Hereupon, Strozzi, who now ſtood expoſed as a butt to the rage of the populace, thought himſelf happy in being able to effect his own eſcape: and that fame Clariſſa, who had done ſo much in favour of liberty, was prevented from following her huſband, and detained as a hoſtage, together with her niece Catharine, who afterward became queen of France. They were removed from their palace, leſt it ſhould ſerve as a point of union to their friends. Thus Strozzi and his wife, who had been the firſt agents in the revolution, became its firſt victims.

In the intoxication of their joy, the Florentines anticipated boundleſs advantages from the recovery of their liberty. They congratulated each other on the fair proſpect of "at length being "their own maſters, and, as in times paſt, the ar- "biters of Italy: they were no more to be loaded "with any greater burden of taxation than they "ſhould themſelves chooſe to bear; whereas thoſe

" unlucky Medici had drained them of above five " hundred thouſand ducats by wars in which the " intereſts of the republic were not at all concern- " ed." In uniſon with theſe ideas, the general rage againſt the Medicean family was carried to the utmoſt height: inſults were publicly offered to all who were thought their partiſans: their armorial inſignia were torn down; and their palaces would have been ſet on fire, had not that act of violence been prevented by a fear leſt the ravages of the conflagration ſhould extend to other houſes.

The people elected for their gonfaloniere Nicolas Capponi, ſon of that Capponi who, in the French king's preſence, tore the paper which contained that monarch's haughty pretenſions. He was a moderate man who did not participate in the exceſſes of the people. He attempted to repreſent to them that they ought not too eagerly to avail themſelves of a moment of proſperity—that it would perhaps be prudent to avoid offending the pope in the perſon of his relatives—that it was very poſſible the ſovereign pontif might enter into an accommodation with the emperor, and turn againſt them.—" Vain alarms!" they all exclaimed —" puſillanimous fears of a man who perhaps re- " commended this cautious forbearance only as a " maſk to palliate treaſonous ſchemes already pre- " meditated." Capponi became an object of ſuſpicion: wherefore, ſeeing how little dependence could be placed on a giddy turbulent multitude

who were incapable of ſuffering their firſt conceptions to give way to even the ſtrongeſt arguments of reaſon, he went over to the party of the nobles. Of theſe, the greater number had favoured the revolution through hatred of the Medici: but, finding that they derived no benefit from it, and that the people, inſtead of acknowledging their meritorious acquieſcence on that occaſion, ſtill continued to regard them as enemies, they repented of their unprofitable condeſcenſion; and Capponi found them very ready to join him when he came to ſound their diſpoſitions.

Thus there were in Florence three parties prominently viſible—that of Capponi and the nobles, who were called the *optimates*—the popular party—and the neuter, conſiſting of prudent moderate citizens who reprobated the exceſſes of the other two factions, but who, not chooſing to join with either, had ſometimes the mortification of ſeeing themſelves deteſted by both. The *optimates*, not having yet acquired ſufficient ſtrength, dared not openly to oppoſe the will of the popular party: but they cenſured their reſolutions, and retarded their execution by every obſtacle which they could throw in the way without expoſing themſelves to danger. The people, thus impeded in their career, took as it were their ſpring, and overleaped thoſe bounds which, if leſs thwarted, they would perhaps not have tranſgreſſed. There now was nought but diſorder and confuſion in the adminiſ-

tration of affairs: on both ſides general diſſatisfaction prevailed; and regulations calculated to exaſperate the minds of the contending parties were thoſe which were moſt eagerly adopted.

It had been ordained that all paſt tranſactions ſhould be buried in amneſty. The people broke through that agreement, and nominated ſyndics to inquire into the frauds committed in the management of the public money. Theſe inquiries affected the rich, and were conducted with a rigor which was not untainted with injuſtice. Other ſyndics were intruſted with the levying of new taxes, and acquitted themſelves of the taſk with great harſhneſs. Orders were given for the ſale of the tenth part of all property belonging to the church and to pious foundations. Inceſſant changes were made of the magiſtrates in the different tribunals, and of the functions allotted to them. The embaſſadors of the republic at the courts of the ſeveral powers were recalled, becauſe they belonged or were ſuſpected to belong to the party of the Medici. Rigorous laws were enacted for the adminiſtration of juſtice; yet never was it worſe adminiſtered. Under pretence of liberty, licentiouſneſs of manners was tolerated: the flights of imagination were ſubſtituted in lieu of eſtabliſhed principles: tyranny was exerciſed over the conſciences of men; and, in ſhort, every thing was done which could tend to eterniſe diſſenſion at home, and alienate the powers abroad.

Meanwhile the pope, as Capponi had foreſeen,

was employed in effecting an accommodation with the emperor. That prince did not ſhow himſelf difficult toward the pontif, whom he had maltreated, and whoſe good-will he was now intereſted in regaining, that he might be enabled completely to expel the French from Italy. The Florentines had deprived themſelves of the ſupport of the latter by joining in the league of the emperor and the Venetians againſt them: hence they were deeply embarraſſed when the reconciliation of the pope and the emperor taught them that they might poſſibly be abandoned by the one and become victims to the reſentment of the other. Nevertheleſs they aſſumed an air of confidence, reinforced their troops, and continued to unite them with thoſe of the emperor, as if they had placed great dependence on him. But at the ſame time they laboured in ſtrengthening the fortifications of their city.

Diſturbance ſtill prevailed within its walls. Capponi, fallen under ſuſpicion becauſe he did not blindly ſubſerve the animoſity of the people againſt the Medici, offered in the public aſſembly to reſign his poſt of gonfaloniere. His reſignation was not accepted: but after a few days his enemies produced a forged letter tending to prove a ſecret underſtanding between him and the Medici. He found great difficulty in extricating himſelf from the danger in which this calumny involved him: he was thrown into priſon: however, after having remained three hours expoſed to the moſt immi-

nent danger, his innocence was acknowledged, and he was reconducted with honour to his own houſe. But he did not there make a longer ſtay than was neceſſary to provide for himſelf a retreat in the country, where ſhutting himſelf up with his wife and a ſingle domeſtic, he lived in total ſeparation even from his friends, to avoid having his feelings harrowed by the painful recital of the misfortunes impendent over his ill-fated country.

At the commencement of the year 1528, the Florentines learned by experience what treatment a diſunited ſtate may expect from its allies. The duke of Ferrara, from whom they hourly awaited ſuccours which they had already paid for, kept their money, and ſent them no troops. Inſtead of ſoldiers, the Venetians ſent them exhortations not to be diſcouraged, but to prepare themſelves for defenſe, aſſuring them that they ſhould not be forſaken in the hour of neceſſity. The emperor ſpoke in more explicit terms, giving them fairly to underſtand that he conſidered Florence as a fief of the empire, of which he had a right to diſpoſe; and he took little pains to conceal from them that the diſpoſal might probably be in favour of the Medici. They had now no other alternative than that of ſubmitting once more to wear the Medicean chain or haſarding their all in defence of their liberty. Their reſentment was riſen to its utmoſt height againſt the pope, who entangled them in his ſnares; nor was Clement

fired with leſs animoſity againſt them. In mutually preparing for war, they vied with each other for the acquiſition of Malateſta, a very able general. The Florentines, by the allurement of highly advantageous terms, won him to their banners, and conferred on him the command of their troops. Under ſuch a general they expected the moſt brilliant ſucceſſes: yet they were defeated, loſt Perugia, Arezzo, Cortona, and with grief and aſtoniſhment ſaw the ſhattered wreck of their batallions return inglorious to their walls, and themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of defending their city, of which Malateſta aſſumed the government.

Nor did a long time elapſe before the emperor and the other confederates preſented themſelves before the ramparts of Florence. The ſiege was commenced, but not proſecuted with activity. It appears that the aſſailants wiſhed to allow ſufficient time for negotiation to ripen the wearineſs of the Florentines. In the intervals of hoſtility propoſals were brought forward. Malateſta liſtened to them, and ſeemed to communicate every thing to the Florentines. When he ſaw them recoil with diſguſt from conditions of too great harſhneſs, he entered into their ſentiments, ordered maſſes to be ſung, and required of the citizens and of his ſoldiers an oath that they would defend themſelves to their lateſt breath. When milder terms were offered, he yielded to the current, and conſented that the new-modeled propoſitions ſhould not be

rejected. They were conſtantly ill received by the emperor's council, who adhered to the reſolution already announced of diſpoſing of Florence as a fief, without ſaying in favour of whom or in what manner. With reſpect to the pope, he anſwered that he never had entertained an intention of oppreſſing the liberty of the Florentines; that, on the contrary, they would already have been deſpoiled of it, but for his interpoſition and ſolicitations employed to ſuſpend the efforts of the emperor; but that he would never conſent to the preſervation of a government void of faith, agitated by unruly paſſions, diſplaying the bloody banner of proſcription, and ſupporting itſelf by nought but aſſaſſinations; that they had branded excellent citizens with the appellation of rebels; that they had mal-treated them in every poſſible mode; that he had himſelf been groſsly inſulted by them; that they had pulled down his ſtatues, and hanged him in effigy.

While the time glided away in negotiation, the Florentines ſucceſſively loſt their fortreſſes, Piſtoja, Pietra-Santa, Prato; and they ſuffered all theſe diſaſters under the valiant Malateſta. That general indeed was known to be intereſted: for his wife, his children, and all his property, lay in the power of the enemies of Florence: but, according to his friends within the city, he was ſo fraught with honour, ſo delicate, ſo high-minded, ſo heroic in his ſentiments, that the man who ſhould ſuſpect

him of treachery would do an injury to his own character. Whenever he ſpoke to the people, the word "*liberty*" ſounded in each ſentence; and he wore that ſacred name inſcribed on his cap. Were meaſures of vigour ſuggeſted? a ſally propoſed? he adopted the ſcheme with enthuſiaſm, and proſecuted it with warm energy: he inſiſted on perſonally taking a part in it, nor would ſuffer a ſingle muſket-ſhot to be fired without him. The orders were excellently given, but ill executed: at one time the want of ſucceſs was attributable to the exceſſive ardor of the troops, at another to miſtake on the part of the chiefs, and to other unavoidable accidents.

The prince of Orange, who commanded at the ſiege, drew from their lines the greater part of his army to intercept a convoy which was coming to the relief of Florence. The Florentine officers urged Malateſta to attack the lines while naked of defenders. He ſternly rejected ſo raſh a propoſition: but when the inhabitants obtained certain conviction that the camp had in effect long remained in a defenſeleſs ſtate, then Malateſta bitterly repented of having ſuffered ſo fine an opportunity to paſs unimproved: "but who," ſaid he with a ſigh, "could have imagined that ſo able "a general would have unmanned his lines to "ſuch a degree as to leave them in danger of "being carried by aſſault?" The riſque incurred by the prince had not been great; he defeated and

diſperſed the re-inforcement, and prevented the ſupply of proviſions from reaching the city: but he was killed in the action; and a letter is ſaid to have been found on him, written by Malateſta, who told him that he might fearleſsly quit his camp, and promiſed not to attack thoſe whom he ſhould leave in it.

The ſtrength of the Florentines was gradually impaired by the loſs of men, the conſumption of ammunition and proviſions, and the waſte of money neceſſary to procure thoſe aids. To ſupply the pecuniary deficiency, they diſpoſed of the property of the rebels by a lottery which produced a conſiderable ſum. The great council, after having eleven times put the queſtion to the vote, determined that all the gold and ſilver that was in the poſſeſſion of the citizens, all the plate found in the churches, except ſuch as was indiſpenſably requiſite for divine ſervice, ſhould be carried to the mint. The jewels which ornamented the ſacred relics were ſold. The Florentines thought no ſacrifices too great in the defenſe of their liberty. "*Poor and free,*" was their motto: it was inſcribed in large characters over the doors of their houſes; and, no doubt, it was deeply graven in their hearts: but what could they do in oppoſition to force from without, ſeconded by perfidy within?

At length the Florentines, having their eyes opened to the treacheries of Malateſta, reſolved to diſmiſs him, and took the opportunity of his obſti-

nately urging an accommodation which did not appear ſufficiently advantageous, and refuſing to make a ſortie according to their wiſhes. The colour which they gave to his diſcharge, though as honourable as poſſible, did not pleaſe him: wherefore, as ſoon as it was announced to him, he ſtarted forward boiling with real or pretended anger, and, ruſhing with his drawn dagger on one of the commiſſioners, gave him ſeveral ſtabs. The ſoldiery, though paid by the citizens, ſhowed themſelves more attentive to their general than to them, and ranged themſelves around him. At the ſame time the beſiegers advance from their lines, diſplay their banners waving in the wind, and threaten an immediate aſſault. The women in diſtraction take refuge in the churches, and with loud cries call for a capitulation. A great portion of the citizens reſolve to periſh with their weapons in their hands, and wiſh to march forth againſt the enemy. In the frightful diſorder which prevailed through the city, this reſolution, if reduced to practice, would have cauſed its ruin. But the magiſtrates, the aged and the moderate men, ſucceeded in obtaining a hearing for the voice of reaſon, eſpecially from the nobility, who ſhowed the greateſt warmth. They conſented to capitulate: nor were the terms difficult of adjuſtment; for all conditions were equal to the beſiegers, provided only that the city ſurrendered, ſince they were certain that they ſhould afterward be at liberty to perform only ſuch of

them as they thought proper. Accordingly they conſented that the citizens ſhould, at the head of the treaty, place a guaranty of their liberty in the following words—"The form of the government "of Florence ſhall be ſettled by his imperial ma- "jeſty within the ſpace of four months; the liberty "of the citizens, however, being ſtill preſerved." The other articles related to matters of convenience or police, and were executed according to circumſtances.

In the delirium of martial enthuſiaſm, the captivating name of "liberty" was as it were a bandage which prevented the eyes of thoſe republicans from diſcovering the full extent of their misfortunes. But now when every thing was irretrievably ruined, they ſeemed overwhelmed with the oppreſſive weight of their calamities. The following is a picture of their ſituation, drawn by their own hiſtorians. "They "regretted the expenſes incurred for the ſupport "of a long and arduous war which had termi- "nated in ſo melancholy an iſſue—the exhauſtion "of their fortunes—the derangement of their com- "merce—the ruin of their eſtates—the deſtruc- "tion of their houſes—the death of their children "and their friends—the mad diſcords which had "divided them—the exceſſes to which they had "proceeded againſt their concitizens—the ſhame "with which they remained covered in conſe- "quence of them—the contempt and bitter taunts

" with which the dregs of the populace, deſtitute " of every neceſſary, reviled the nobles whom they " accuſed as authors of the public calamity. The " rich were tormented by the apprehenſion of ſee- " ing the little they had ſaved become the prey of " an inſulting and rapacious victor: the poor were " goaded by the fear of periſhing with hunger: " all were diſmayed by the aſpect of preſent " wretchedneſs, and the almoſt certain proſpect of " more dreadful evils to come: and theſe various " ſenſations indiſcriminately plunged all ranks in " conſternation and deſpair. Pale and trembling, " their looks gloomy and ſuſpicious, their counte- " nances bent downward to the earth, they dared " not turn their eyes upon each other."

Such was the ſad conqueſt which Clement had made through the perfidy of Malateſta. But neither the one nor the other was ſatisfied. The pontif was diſpleaſed that the treaty had left Florence at the diſpoſal of the emperor, without making any mention of *him:* and the general, making exorbitant demands, and thinking himſelf ill rewarded becauſe abatements were made from them, retired with the ſhame alone of his treachery. The governor appointed by the emperor, until the formation of the conſtitution promiſed by the treaty, eſtabliſhed a proviſional government altogether military. The inhabitants were rigorouſly diſarmed, and ſubjected to heavy contribu-

tions. In the apportionment of the quotas, they already obſerved that favour was ſhown to the partiſans of the Medici.

Although a general amneſty had been promiſed, ſecret orders were given to perſecute without mercy all thoſe who had declared for the popular government. Six of the chief of that number were decapitated: others were immured in the dungeons of the fortreſſes; and one hundred and twenty-eight were baniſhed. The Florentines repeatedly petitioned the emperor to put a period to this tyrannical government and grant them that which he had promiſed. They continued their entreaties during three years; which time was employed by the emperor in concerting meaſures with the pope for conferring the ſovereignty of Florence on either of his holineſs's nephews whom he might chooſe to prefer. He had two, as we have already obſerved, both illegitimate ſons—Hippolytus, of Julius the Magnificent—Alexander, of Lorenzo. The former was elder than his couſin, and ſuperior to him in underſtanding and talents. To Alexander, nevertheleſs, the preference was given: which circumſtance inſpired the world with a belief that he was allied to Clement VII in a nearer degree than that of nepotiſm. In 1531, Charles V declared him duke of Florence; and thus ended the republic. Alexander I A.D 1531.

Little, however, was wanting to effect its immediate re-eſtabliſhment. Alexander was but twenty-

two years old when he was raiſed to the ſovereignty, with all the inexperience of that age, his own paſſions, and thoſe of his uncle Clement. The pope's predominating paſſions were hatred to the noble families who had traverſed his ambitious views—and vengeance—of which Alexander rendered himſelf the miniſter. He baniſhed and proſcribed all thoſe whom the pontif marked out to him, and in every poſſible mode haraſſed thoſe citizens whom the ties of pleaſing habit retained in their native ſoil notwithſtanding his perſecutions. By ſuch conduct he was expoſed to conſpiracies: it was not that circumſtance, however, which cauſed his death, but his own imprudence in going by night without precaution to an amorous rendez-vous. He was poignarded at the age of twenty-ſeven, in the year 1536.

As his death was ſudden and unforeſeen, a dreadful confuſion at firſt enſued, which was followed by a deliberation whether the Florentines ſhould re-eſtabliſh the republic or chooſe for themſelves a maſter, and who that maſter ſhould be. Some ſpirited opinions were advanced in favour of a republic; but they were now no longer in ſeaſon. More willing ear was given to a ſpeaker who repreſented that it was not conſiſtent with the intereſt of their country to reſtore to her a dangerous liberty, of which Florence was incapable of bearing the burden. "The people," ſaid he, "are "too ſtrongly inimical to the nobility to ſuffer

" them to be at the head of affairs: yet the po-
" pular government has often dragged Florence
" to the brink of ruin. More mercantile than war-
" like, ſhe has conſtant reaſon to dread the ambition
" of ſeveral powerful princes. Thus, ſince it is im-
" poſſible to place the government in the hands of
" the nobles, from whom greater moderation and
" prudence might be expected than from the
" people, it is better to chooſe a ſovereign, who,
" repreſſing the different parties at home, ſhall
" watch over the ſafety of the ſtate abroad, than
" to ſubmit to the caprice and tyranny of the
" multitude."

This advice prevailed. Among the Medici of the different branches which abounded in Florence, the public choice fell upon Coſmo, who was not, like his laſt predeceſſor, of ſpurious birth, but legitimately deſcended, through his father John ſurnamed the Invincible, from Lorenzo, younger brother to the firſt Coſmo.

Though he had not yet attained his eighteenth year, he diſplayed, from the moment of his exaltation, a prudence and wiſdom beyond his age. To ſatisfy in ſome meaſure the minds of thoſe who were apprehenſive of a too abſolute authority, it was determined that Coſmo ſhould not bear the title of "chief of the republic:" and a council was named for him conſiſting of eight citizens whoſe power might in caſes of emergency act as a check upon his. But he conducted himſelf with ſuch

propriety that this reſtriction became unneceſſary. He followed, with regard to the exiles, a ſyſtem diametrically oppoſite to that of his predeceſſor. There were no meaſures of mildneſs and inſinuation, no ſpecies of kind treatment and favours, which he did not employ with the view of alluring them to return: and he would have ſucceeded in his endeavours, if thoſe unfortunate men—placing too great confidence in the promiſes of the different princes with whom they had taken refuge, and who were all intereſted in fomenting the diſturbances at Florence—had not flattered themſelves with the hope of re-entering the city by force, and rejected all the overtures of conciliation. It was no uncommon ſpectacle to behold thoſe hapleſs wanderers fighting againſt each other in the French, imperial, Spaniſh, Venetian, papal armies, into which they had been thrown by chance. Thus they deſtroyed each other, and their numbers melted away, at a diſtance from their home, reduced by their own obſtinacy to the painful neceſſity of only breathing forth unavailing ſighs toward their native country which would gladly have given them a cordial reception in her boſom.

During this time Coſmo reigned with glory. It was not till after he had reſtored tranquillity to his ſtates that he conceived the ambition of enlarging them. He ſucceeded in that deſign without oppreſſing his people with the miſeries of war; being more inclined to make acquiſitions by purchaſe

than by conqueſt: yet he conſtantly kept his troops on a reſpectable footing. No prince was ever more eſteemed and courted than he by his contemporary potentates; happy if he had enjoyed peace within the circle of his own family! But the ſunſhine of his bliſs was eclipſed by a fatal accident which deprived him of his two ſons, Don Garcias and Don John.

Whether from jealouſy or from innate antipathy, thoſe brothers often quarreled with each other. In a diſpute at a hunting-party, Don Garcias, the more violent of the two, killed Don John with the ſtab of a dagger. The extreme gentleneſs of the deceaſed, the candor of his ſoul, the regularity of his conduct—in which he formed a perfect contraſt to Don Garcias—had powerfully endeared him to his father. Coſmo, deeply afflicted by the loſs of a tenderly-beloved ſon, cauſes the dead body to be conveyed to his palace, and preſents it to the murderer. Garcias at firſt diſavows the deed: but ſome drops of blood iſſuing from the lifeleſs corſe ſtrike him as a reproach, and make him acknowledge his crime. He throws himſelf at his father's feet. "Die, wretch!" ſaid the inexorable Coſmo, ſnatching from the aſſaſſin's ſide the poignard with which he had pierced his brother, and plunging it into his boſom. Coſmo is likewiſe ſaid to have poiſoned Mary, one of his daughters, who was become enamoured of a page: another, named Lucretia and married to the duke

of Ferrara, was put to death by her huſband who was diſſatisfied with her conduct.

Notwithſtanding theſe domeſtic calamities, Coſmo II was conſidered as a very great prince. He took Coſmo I for his model, and ſhowed himſelf not inferior to him in magnificence, generoſity, love of the fine arts, and the glory of protecting them. The ſuperb edifices, the ſplendid monuments, with which he embelliſhed the capital and its environs, afford ample proof of his taſte and munificence. He was the founder of that celebrated gallery containing the richeſt and moſt numerous collection of ſtatues, bronzes, medals, valuable pictures, and antiques, which his ſucceſſors have emulouſly augmented. He reſigned his ſtates to his ſon in 1565, but continued to direct him in the government, and died in 1574.

Francis-Mary, A.D. 1565. It was to Francis, third duke of Florence, that the emperor confirmed the title of *grand-duke*, which had been conteſted in his father's time. Francis had been endowed by nature with a placid ſoul, inclined to peace, void of ambition, and undiſturbed by any violent paſſion: but he was not inſenſible to that of love. A fair Venetian, daughter of Capello a ſenator, affected his heart. Hiſtory deſcribes that amour as accompanied by events which might well furniſh matter for the plot of a romance. The grand-duke inſinuated himſelf to her by every attention and mark of tenderneſs capable of making an impreſſion on a

woman of delicacy and ſenſibility. By his aſſiduities he triumphed over a favoured lover for whoſe ſake ſhe had abandoned her native country; and he gave her his hand after the death of Joan of Auſtria, his wife. It is believed that his brother Ferdinand, indignant at that marriage which he conſidered as diſgraceful to the family, poiſoned them both in 1587. If it was to this double crime that Ferdinand was indebted for his elevation to the throne, he expiated it and cauſed it to be forgotten, if poſſible, by the wiſdom of his adminiſtration. He was ſucceeded, in 1609, by his ſon Coſmo, whoſe feeble temperament of body did not prevent him from rendering himſelf recommendable, during his ſhort reign, by his prudence, as well as his love and encouragement of the fine arts.

Ferdinand I, A.D. 1587.

Coſmo III, A.D. 1609.

As if it had been pre-ordained that every branch of human knowledge ſhould owe obligations to the Medici, phyſics and chemiſtry and natural hiſtory were indebted for a ſplendor till then unexampled to Ferdinand III, who ſucceeded his father Coſmo in 1621. He eſtabliſhed an academy where all the ſciences were cultivated. The grand-duke perſonally practiſed and encouraged them; and the grand-ducheſs his wife, daughter of Gaſton duke of Orléans, ſeconded him in that particular: but the ducal pair did not agree in many other points. A ſeparation taking place between them, the ducheſs went to live in France, and the grand-duke addicted himſelf to the practices of devotion, the exceſs of

Ferdinand III, A.D. 1621.

which is said to have caused their disunion. No formal divorce was pronounced: nevertheless, during his wife's life-time Ferdinand entered into holy orders by special dispensation from the pope, which he asked and obtained for the purpose of being qualified to handle reliques.

John-Gaston, A.D. 1670.

In regularity of moral conduct he was ill imitated by John-Gaston, his son, who succeeded him in 1670. This prince led a life of effeminacy and retirement in the recesses of his palace. During his life and without consulting him, the emperor and the French and Spanish kings, foreseeing that he would have no children, disposed of his states, which passed through several hands, according to the interests of those powers. In 1737, the grand-duchy of Tuscany was definitively annexed to the house of Austria. To prevent that state from suffering by the absence of the sovereign, and that the revenues may be expended on the spot and give animation to it, it has been made the inheritance of the younger brothers of the imperial family.

Francis of Lorraine, A.D. 1737.

Peter-Leopold-Joseph, A.D. 1765

Ferdinand-Joseph-John, A.D. 1790.

The first of those princes of the Austrio-Lorraine family was Francis, who was followed by his brother Peter-Leopold-Joseph, to whom succeeded his son Ferdinand-Joseph-John. The two former resigned the grand-duchy to mount the imperial throne; nor did they without regret relinquish the delightful abodes of Tuscany.

Pisa.

Piſa, riſing at the diſtance of a league from the ſea, has in her territory the port of Livorno [*Leghorn*]. From the earlieſt antiquity that town has been famed for its maritime exploits. It is ſaid to have been peopled, ſubſequently to the capture of Troy, by an Arcadian colony from the Grecian city of Piſa, and at a ſtill earlier period by Pelops the ſon of Tantalus. Whatever may have been its origin and the progreſs of its aggrandiſement, Piſa was held in conſideration by the Romans, who ranked it among the number of the friendly municipalities. After the decadence of the empire, it not only continued to be a commercial town, but alſo began to make conqueſts. In the year 1005 the Piſans ſeiſed on Sardinia and Corſica: in 1030 they rendered themſelves maſters of Carthage, then governed by a king. As an indemnification for the loſs of his crown, they ſent him to the pope, to receive baptiſm. At every period of their hiſtory they have been warmly attached to the ſovereign pontifs: they not only repulſed the Saracens from their coaſts, but even went to attack them in Sicily. From the ſpoils which they brought thence on their return, they erected their magnificent cathedral. The captivity of a king of Majorca, whom they attacked in his iſland, is a proof of their courage; and their generoſity was equally conſpicuous in reſtoring him to liberty. In

1318, they ſent aſſiſtance to the cruſaders in Paleſtine, under Lanfranc their archbiſhop. Inſtead of the riches of the Eaſt, the prelate, on his return, loaded his ſhips with earth from Jeruſalem, which he ſtrewed, nine feet in depth, over a cœmetery that has thence borne the name of the "Holy "Field." He ſurrounded it with porticoes, and decorated it with marbles and paintings, which render it a curious monument.

Hiſtory gives us no particular information reſpecting their republic. In 1202, they had a count, whom they took off as a tyrant. His fate did not deter others who ſucceſſively ſeiſed on the government. But the republic regained the aſcendency; and during its exiſtence they had a war with the Genoeſe, and ſeiſed upon Lucca. But the moſt important war in which the Piſans were engaged was againſt the Florentines. Theſe two peoples had ſworn deadly hatred to each other: ſcoffs, inſults, challenges, between perſons mutually acquainted, carried ſanguinary animoſity between them to its greateſt exceſſes.

The fate of war opened for the Florentines the road to Piſa, which they beſieged in 1406. Some advantages gained by the Piſans ſo inflated them with pride, that, having killed a Florentine ſoldier in one of their eruptions, they faſtened his body to the tail of an aſs, and ignominiouſly dragged it through the ſtreets. In vengeance of this inſult, the comrades of that ſoldier maſſacred all their

priſoners. Hence a dreadful animoſity between the beſiegers and the beſieged. The latter, being preſſed by famine, ſend all the uſeleſs mouths out of the town. The general of the Florentine army orders theſe unfortunate wretches to be driven back toward the walls, where they are abandoned to the fury of the ſoldiery, before the eyes of their concitizens who behold this ſad ſpectacle from the height of their ramparts. Some are hanged; others are crowded into rotten boats, and committed, without oars or rudder, to the current of the Po. It is noticed, as a ſymptom of returning moderation and mildneſs in the Florentines, that they at length confined themſelves to branding the men with a hot iron, and ſending them back into the town with the women, whoſe clothes they cut away as far as the hips. After an obſtinate reſiſtance the beſieged were finally compelled to ſurrender. Their ſubmiſſion diſarmed the reſentment of their opponents; nor had the vanquiſhed any room to complain of their ſubſequent treatment by the victors except in the ſingle inſtance of their ſeiſing on the reins of government: but the Piſans recovered their liberty in 1494 under the protection of the Genoeſe.

The Florentines did not renounce the project of ſubduing Piſa; for which purpoſe they employed force, fraud, and money. The laſt of theſe means was not far from proving ſucceſsful with Charles VIII. That prince, conſtantly ſtraitened in his finances

during his Italian expedition, was inclined to give ear to the inſinuations of the Florentines, who offered him a conſiderable ſum of money on condition of his aiding them to re-eſtabliſh their authority in Piſa. While the monarch wavers in heſitation, a crowd of Piſans arrive in his camp—old men, women, children—who, bathed in tears, beſeech him with loud cries not to deliver them up to the Florentines. Even thoſe Florentines who compoſed a part of Charles's army were moved with compaſſion: the officers took off their gold chains, and offered them to the king if he ſtood in need of money. This generous offer, of which the monarch did not take an ungenerous advantage, ſaved the Piſans on that occaſion. But their enſlavement was only procraſtinated for a few years. The Florentines cauſed them to be attacked by other powers, or were themſelves the aſſailants; and Piſa ſuſtained no fewer than three ſieges. At length it ſubmitted in 1509, on conditions which appeared rather the terms of alliance than of ſubjection. From that period, it was mildly governed by the victors until the time when, together with them, it came under the ſceptre of the grand-dukes.

Several of the inhabitants, nevertheleſs, and eſpecially of the nobles, at the moment of the ſurrender, preferred the calamities of exile to the humiliation of living in ſubjection to the Florentines. They ſettled in Sicily, at Rome, Genoa,

Venice, and elſewhere. This deſertion conſiderably diminiſhed the population and commerce of the town, both which ſuffered a ſevere check in conſequence of the fruitleſs attempt made by the Piſans in 1609 to emancipate themſelves from the dominion of the grand-dukes. That unfortunate effort was productive to them of the loſs of their privileges, and reduced their number to about thirty thouſand inhabitants. Among theſe are numbered ſeven thouſand Jews, lowly degraded as every-where elſe, and, as every-where elſe, deriving from their opulence a conſolation of their diſgrace.

There is no town which contains a more numerous collection than Piſa of foreign and precious marbles. They are the fruits of the conqueſts made by the Piſans, who, on their return from their expeditions, loaded their ſhips with ſtatues and columns to embelliſh their town. Not only in the public edifices, but in private houſes, are ſeen inſcriptions, baſſo-rilievoes, cornices, of that beautiful Grecian marble which is ſo highly eſteemed for its fineneſs and poliſh. It is perhaps from this fondneſs for the antique that the Piſans have imagined that a combat with maces and clenched fiſts, annually fought on a bridge between the inhabitants of the oppoſite ſides of the river, is an imitation of the Olympic games. But nothing can be leſs ſimilar to that magnificent ſpectacle of ancient Greece than the tumultuous aſſaults of the Piſan populace. The Piſans might on better ground

claim ſome affinity to that country of arts and elegance, from the graceful attire of their rural females: they ornament their hair with natural and artificial flowers, and plait and braid it with ſingular taſte. Their whole dreſs diſplays a tincture of coquettery, which improves their native charms, and renders thoſe fair ruſtics extremely captivating.

Lucca.

The difference between Florence, Piſa, and Lucca, is, that the two former, after having been republics during ſeveral centuries, have ſince ceaſed to be free, whereas Lucca, after having paſſed under the dominion of various maſters, at length became and has ſince continued a republic. It is ſituate at the diſtance of four miles from Piſa. Its origin is unknown: but it was viewed in a reſpectable light by republican Rome; and, under the emperors, it held a diſtinguiſhed rank among the cities of Italy. It maintained a ſeven months' ſiege againſt Narſes, to whom it ſurrendered in 555. At this time Lucca is ſaid to have ceaſed to be a republic; and ſhe continued ſubject to counts and marquiſes until the year 1115, when ſhe recovered her priſtine liberty. It was again ſnatched from her at the beginning of the fourteenth century by a man to whom the caprice of fortune had allotted a ſtation in the loweſt rank of ſociety, and who by his talents elevated himſelf to the higheſt.

Among the noble families of Lucca, that of the

Caſtracani had long been eſteemed one of the principal. In 1320 it was nearly extinct, no members of it remaining except a good old eccleſiaſtic who lived in his native place on the ſlender income of a petty canonicate, with his ſiſter Dianova, a ſuperannuated widow. To their humble dwelling was annexed a ſmall garden, where walking one morning, the good widow heard plaintive cries. She approaches a vine whence the wailing ſeemed to proceed, and drawing aſide the branches, beholds a new-born infant covered with rags, and apparently in the greateſt need of immediate aſſiſtance. Yearning with pity, Dianova carries the babe to her brother: they form the reſolution of rearing him, and cauſe him to be baptiſed by the name of Caſtruccio, which was that of their father.

The good canon centred his whole affection on that child: he deſtined him for his ſucceſſor in the canonicate, directed him to the proper courſe of ſtudies, and provided him with ſuitable maſters, to qualify him for the profeſſion which he wiſhed him to embrace. Until the age of fourteen years Caſtruccio was perfectly docile: but at that period, weary of his maſters, diſguſted with his books, he no longer liſtened to the former, he threw away the latter, and ſhowed no taſte but for arms, eagerly ſought the company of young men of the ſame turn of mind, mingled in their ſports, participated in their exerciſes, and ſurpaſſed them all in ſtrength and dexterity. The canon was deeply

afflicted on ſeeing his pupil prefer an uncertain and perilous purſuit to the ſure and undangerous fortune which he was preparing for him. He ſtunned him with remonſtrances: but the young ſoldier paid no regard to them, and ſolely followed the bent of his own inclinations.

At Lucca lived a nobleman, by name Cuinigi, who, after having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the military ſervice abroad, had retired to his native place, where, no longer practiſing the reality of war, he feaſted himſelf at leaſt with its image, by training to the martial exerciſes ſome choſen youths his fellow-citizens. The diſpoſition ſhown by Caſtruccio inſpired Cuinigi with a wiſh to add him to the number. It was not without regret that the good old canon parted with him: but he was compenſated for that ſacrifice by the reputation which his pupil daily acquired. At the tournaments, he ſurpaſſed the moſt renowned knights in ſtrength and dexterity. Mild, amiable, modeſt, he was equally cheriſhed in ſociety as eſteemed by the men of arms. Cuinigi, intruſted by the duke of Milan with an important military operation, took Caſtruccio with him; and the youthful warrior diſtinguiſhed himſelf by actions of ſo conſpicuous brilliancy, that nought but his praiſes were heard from every tongue. At the concluſion of the war, Cuinigi fell ſick, and died without leaving any other heir than a boy at the age of thirteen, of whom he left the guardianſhip to Caſtruccio, with

the management of his property, which was conſiderable.

The ſplendor which he derived from the riches of his pupil excited the jealouſy of many of the nobles, among whom George d'Opizi was the moſt diſtinguiſhed. Attached to the faction of the Guelfs, he was an avowed enemy to the Ghibellines, and had compelled many of them to quit the city. They had taken refuge at Piſa, under the protection of Uguccione, who, from the poſt of general of the republic, had raiſed himſelf to be its ſovereign. Caſtruccio, perſecuted by Opizi, goes to thoſe patriots, and demonſtrates to them the poſſibility of accompliſhing their return to their native city if Uguccione be willing to lend them his aid. The Piſan conſents, induced by the hope which they give him that they will acknowledge his authority in Lucca, as ſoon as he ſhall have obtained poſſeſſion of the place. Their project was in every reſpect ſucceſsful: Opizi was ſlain, and the Guelfs expelled. Uguccione, now become maſter, gave to his conqueſt a government in which himſelf retained the chief part of the authority: but he allowed to Caſtruccio a ſufficient ſhare of it to prevent his regret of having ſuggeſted and facilitated the enterpriſe.

The Guelfs, thus baniſhed from Lucca, retired to Florence, and ſtirred up that republic againſt the tyrant of Lucca. The Florentines ſent an army againſt him. During the continuance of

hoſtilities, Uguccione fell ſick, and was obliged to delegate the command of his troops to Caſtruccio, who, during the illneſs and abſence of the chief, gained a brilliant victory. The Luccheſe were ſenſible that they ſtood indebted for it to the valour and ſkill of their compatriot, and conferred on him the honours of a triumphal entry. The Piſan became jealous of his lieutenant's glory, and of the authority which it might procure him in the city. He had veſted his ſon with the ſovereignty of Lucca, and now wrote to him to ſeiſe Caſtruccio and put him to death. Young Uguccione did not execute more than one half of his father's orders, having only cauſed Caſtruccio to be conducted to priſon. The father, foreſeeing the conſequences of that half-meaſure, haſted to Lucca to complete it, and had the imprudence to enter the city without precaution. The Luccheſe releaſed Caſtruccio, and nominated him general of the republic. Soon after he was acknowledged as a prince, and at length as ſovereign of Piſa, where admittance had been refuſed to Uguccione, who, thus driven from Lucca, retired to Verona, and there ended his days in obſcurity.

What we have hitherto ſeen is the faireſt page in the hiſtory of Caſtruccio's life. It appears, that, being now weary of the viciſſitudes of fortune, he ſought to fix her inconſtancy by the operation of terror. The Poggio family, one of the moſt powerful in Lucca, had revolted in his abſence,

had killed his lieutenant, and was preparing to make a general maſſacre of his partiſans. Stephen Poggio, a reſpectable ſenior, runs to meet the conſpirators, appeaſes their rage, diſarms them, and, on Caſtruccio's arrival, preſents himſelf before him, and entreats pardon for the guilty. Caſtruccio aſſumes an air of affability, ſays that he has forgotten the whole affair, and that he is delighted to have an opportunity of exerciſing his native clemency. In conſequence of this reception, they all imagine that there is no danger in going to thank their indulgent ſovereign, and accordingly make their appearance with Stephen Poggio at their head. But Caſtruccio cauſes them all to be arreſted and put to death, without excepting even the too-confident Stephen. This tyrant of Lucca is charged with having deceived two friends, and impelled them to kill each other: by which diabolic ſtatagem he added the ſovereignty of Piſtoja to that of Piſa and Lucca. Caſtruccio is famous for having never pardoned an enemy, and having ſhed rivers of blood. He nevertheleſs died quietly in his bed, and bequeathed all his property to Cuinigi the ſon of his benefactor.

His death, far from reſtoring the Luccheſe to liberty, threw them into the hands of a body of German troops, to whom the emperor abandoned the town in lieu of the pay which he owed to them. They ſold it to the Florentines: from theſe the Piſans retook it; and from the latter

again it was wreſted in 1429 by Cuinigi, who, afterward finding himſelf preſſed by the Florentines, called in the aid of the duke of Milan, but without the conſent of the inhabitants. Piqued therefore at the ſtep he had taken, the Luccheſe delivered him up to the duke of Milan, who put him to death, ſeiſed on the ſovereignty, and ſold it to the Florentines, but was unable to ſubſtantiate to them the poſſeſſion of it. Lucca now ſuſtained a ſiege, whoſe tedious duration brought on a treaty between the two republics in 1438. By the agreement then concluded, both parties returned to the ſtate in which they had reſpectively been before the war, with the exception of the mutual waſte of their ſtrength in the conteſt. In 1508, the Luccheſe and Florentines drew cloſer the bands of alliance by which they were united: but Lucca, placing ſmall reliance on the guaranty of treaties, placed herſelf under the protection of the emperors Maximilian and Charles V about the year 1525. Since that time ſhe has preſerved her privileges: though conſidered as a fief of the empire, ſhe has maintained her independence.

The government of Lucca is ariſtocratic, but leſs complicated than that of Venice. Inſtead of a doge, the chief poſt of magiſtracy is filled by a gonfaloniere, who is elected by ballot every two months. The podeſtà, the judge in civil and criminal cauſes, muſt always be a foreigner; but his aſſeſſors are natives of the city. The police is

ſtrict at Lucca, and the wearing of offenſive weapons is ſeverely prohibited. The ſenate watches over the happineſs of the people, anticipates their wants, pays and maintains phyſicians, ſuffers neither beggars nor vagrants, affords pecuniary aid to honeſt and induſtrious citizens who apply for it. Luxury has not made its way into this ſtate: it does not vitiate the morals of the inhabitants, or infringe their republican equality. The nobles are clad in black: the gonfaloniere alone is allowed to wear gold in his dreſs: but the women are not reſtricted in the article of raiment; though they muſt not be extravagant in that particular. The territory of Lucca is fertile, producing wine, oil, wheat, cheſnuts, and ſmall grain * in ſufficient quantity. Fiſh alſo is abundant; and the great number of mulberry-trees cauſes the ſilk-manufacture to flouriſh. Finally, the arts and ſciences are cultivated in this republic with brilliant ſucceſs.

SIENNA.

Sienna alſo is a republic, if a ſenate and an elective chief conſtitute ſufficient claim to that title: but it is not a republic, if a ſtate forfeits that appellation by acknowledging an authority ſuperior to that of her magiſtrates. It is ſaid to have been

* I know not an Engliſh agricultural term for what the French call *menu grain—ſmall* or *leſſer grain*—defined by the Dictionary of the Academy, thoſe ſpecies of grain which are "ſown in March, "ſuch as barley, oats, millet, vetches, &c."

a colony founded by the Gauls * at the period of their irruption into Italy, and afterward a Roman colony. It was proud of this latter circumſtance, ſince it diſplayed in its armorial inſignia a ſhe-wolf ſuckling two babes. From ſome ſparks of information thinly ſcattered over the page of hiſtory, we diſcover, that, in the middle ages—that is to ſay, about the time of the decadence of the Roman empire—Sienna was celebrated for her numerous population, her attachment to commerce, and eſpecially her love of liberty.

The umbrageous jealouſy of that paſſion has often proved a ſource of calamity to the Sienneſe by arming them againſt each other. Rich and poor, nobles and plebeians, brothers and rivals, they frequently drenched their parent's boſom with blood, particularly about the middle of the twelfth century. By them was ſet the example, afterward imitated by other cities, of chooſing for their civil and criminal magiſtrate a foreigner under the name of *podeſtà*. The Floretines made an attempt on the liberty of the Sienneſe in 1150, and ſeveral times renewed their enterpriſes, notwithſtanding the heroic vigor and courage diſplayed by the city in reſiſting their attacks. It has been governed by a council of nine: we are not informed how long that aſſembly continued, or how far it was favourable to liberty; but we know that it did not exiſt at the cloſe of the fifteenth century.

* The *Galli Senones* are particularly ſpecified in the original.

Pandolfo Petrucci, an able and ambitious man, laboured to re-eſtabliſh it. He ſucceeded in his attempt in 1501, and procured his own nomination as one of the nine. He ſoon ſet aſide his eight collegues: thoſe of their number who made the leaſt reſiſtance were only baniſhed: but he put to death the more obſtinate, and conſolidated his power by the moſt violent means. Pandolfo lived at the time when the French, the Venetians, the Milaneſe, and the popes, were contending for the maſtery in Italy. He ſupported himſelf alternately by the aid of the different parties, never faithful to his engagements except ſo far as his intereſt required. He was ſeen to quit Sienna for the purpoſe of appeaſing envy, but without abdicating his authority, which was ſtill maintained there by a ſtrong garriſon, till, at a more opportune ſeaſon, he re-entered the city in triumph. After his death, appeared a Raphael and a Francis and a Fabius Petrucci, who all had their eyes eagerly fixed on Sienna, as a convenient prey. A pope and a duke of Urbino contended for it: and the diſcord prevailing between the people and the regency afforded a favourable opportunity for the competitors. The Medici, more cunning than all the others, ſeiſed the poſſeſſion. As grand-dukes of Tuſcany, they annexed Sienna to their dominions in 1557. The inveſtiture is conferred by the emperors.

Here is a ſenate compoſed of a "captain of the "people," and of eight ſenators called "priors "of the city:" but they cannot take any definitive meaſures without the conſent of the governor appointed by the grand-duke. The Sienneſe are ingenious, polite, and celebrated for their talent in unpremeditated ſallies: they are the beſt *improviſatori*, or extemporiſts, in all Italy. They have various academies, to which they give names that are probably intended to be underſtood in a diametrically oppoſite ſenſe, ſuch as the "dull," the "rude," and others of ſimilar nature. The academy of phyſics publiſhes from time to time ſome valuable memoirs. The commerce of Sienna, formerly ſo brilliant, is now confined to cloths and other woollen ſtuffs manufactured there.

San-Marino.

Within the boundaries of the Eccleſiaſtical State, on a lofty mountain—frequently covered with ſnow, deſtitute of wells and ſprings, and whoſe ſides are ſolely indebted for their fertility to aſſiduous toil—ſtands a town, which, together with its ſurrounding territory of two leagues in diameter, contains about ſix thouſand inhabitants. This is what is called the republic of San-Marino: and it numbers thirteen hundred years of uninterrupted peace and felicity. This ſingle obſervation might ſupply the place of a hiſtory: but we are

curious to know on what foundation that happineſs was firſt built, and by what means it is perpetuated.

A maſon, by name Marino, a native of Dalmatia, worn out with labour, and deſirous of devoting thenceforward his whole attention to the ſalvation of his ſoul, ſought a retreat, found this mountain a fit place for his purpoſe, and here built himſelf a hut. This event is ſuppoſed to have happened in the third century. The pious life of the hermit attracted the notice of the neighbours; and people came to commend themſelves to his prayers. Some ſick perſons recovered after the interceſſion of his oriſons; and immediately the cure was ſet down as "a miracle wrought by the man of God!" Behold him now ſainted: his ſpreading reputation fills a wider and yet wider circle; and a princeſs, to whom the property of the mountain belonged, made him a preſent of it. The concourſe of viſitants increaſed around him during his life-time, and continued to flock to his tomb after his deceaſe. Some houſes are built: a village ariſes, which gradually grows into a burg, and at length ſwells to a town. She frames laws for herſelf, and riſes into a republic.

Two ſmall forts are built on the ſpot where begins the ſlope of the mountain—the one erected in the year 1000, the other in 1170, on ground bought for the purpoſe. She never felt the ſtimulus of ambition except once, when it prompted her

to extend her dominion to half of the neighbouring mountain. But what ſhe had thus acquired and might have retained, ſhe reſtored without waiting to have the demand urged. The town is not acceſſible except by a ſingle path: and the inhabitants are forbidden, under ſevere penalties, to ſeek a different road. If any enemy to the repoſe of this republic were to attempt an attack upon it, he would experience the oppoſition of a body of youth well armed, trained from their infancy to military manœuvres, and, in particular, fired with the love of liberty which they have inherited from their progenitors, and which renders every thing poſſible.

The great council, which aſſembles only on extraordinary occaſions, is compoſed of one repreſentative for each houſe. He is obliged to attend under penalty of a fine, becauſe none are allowed to ſhow indifference reſpecting the fate of the republic. The ordinary and daily buſineſs is diſcuſſed in the aſſembly called the council of ſixty, though in reality it contains no more than forty members, the one half-nobles, the other plebeians; for that diſtinction exiſts even on this petty ant-hill: but thoſe two orders, elſewhere ſo diſcordant, are here ſeen to fraterniſe. A majority of two thirds is requiſite to paſs any vote. The council of ſixty elect two magiſtrates under the title of captains, who are, in miniature, what the Roman conſuls were on a larger ſcale. The commiſſary is the third officer in San-Marino, and, in conjunction with the

captains, pronounces judgement in civil and criminal cauſes. He muſt always be a foreigner, a doctor of law, and continues in the republic only three years. The ſame period of reſidence is limited for the phyſician, who muſt have attained the age of thirty-five years at leaſt: and, though he were excellent in his profeſſion, and enjoyed the confidence of the entire community, he is nevertheleſs diſmiſſed at the expiration of his triennial term. No exceptions are allowed; the principle being cloſely connected with the fundamental laws of the ſtate. The choice of the ſchool-maſter is a momentous affair in the republic. He is required to poſſeſs purity of morals, a good reputation, mildneſs, and knowledge. Thoſe happy endowments, thoſe fine qualities, have, no doubt, long characteriſed their teachers, if we may form a judgement of them from their pupils, who are juſt, humane, hoſpitable, and generous.

Their generoſity, however, is proportioned to the extent of their means, which are not very ample; for we read in the volume of their laws, that, whenever the republic ſhall ſend a miniſter to a foreign country, ſhe is to allow him, for his maintenance and charges, twenty-four ſols per day. It is impoſſible to conceive embaſſies leſs expenſive. When the republic of San-Marino writes to that of Venice, the inſcription of her letter is, "To our "dear ſiſter, the moſt ſerene republic of Venice." Doubtleſs, the great republic receives this ſalutation

from the leſſer with the indulgent ſmile of a woman of fine ſtature on a beautiful child who rears herſelf by her ſide. May that mountain ever continue inacceſſible to thoſe ſtorms from which have ſprung the calamities that fill the annals of other peoples!

Monaco.

After the ſmalleſt republic of Italy, we will introduce the moſt diminutive ſovereignty—the principality of Monaco, a city in the ſtate of Genoa, perched on a rock which commands the ſea, and having at its foot a good harbour. Its ſovereigns trace back their uninterrupted poſſeſſion to the beginning of the thirteenth century. Grimaldi, who is accounted the fourteenth in the retrogreſſive ſeries, was admiral of a fleet of cruſaders in 1218: from which time, it is rarely that we fail to find in the annals of every nation of Europe, even in the north, but more eſpecially in the ſouth, ſome individual of the name of Grimaldi, commanding their armies, and diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his gallant exploits. They all likewiſe have been remarkably prolific—a circumſtance which has ſpread the race of Grimaldi through all the different countries, becauſe the younger brothers, not finding ſufficient reſources in the ſlender patrimony of their fathers, went to ſeek eſtabliſhments elſewhere.

The family of the Grimaldi continued itſelf in the male line during the lapſe of five hundred and

thirteen years, from 1218 to 1731. At this latter epoch, Louiſa-Hippolyta, eldeſt daughter of Antony Grimaldi who had no male iſſue, ſucceeded her father in the ſovereignty of the ſtates of Monaco. She had been married in 1715 to James-Francis-Leonor, chief of the name and arms of the ancient family of Goyon-Matignon in Bretagne, under the expreſs condition, ſtipulated in the marriage-contract, that he ſhould aſſume the name and arms of Grimaldi. From this marriage ſprang Honoratus-Camillus-Leonor, who, in 1731, ſucceeded his mother in the poſſeſſion of the ſtates of Monaco.

The feebleneſs of this principality expoſing it to be invaded by France or Spain on the firſt eruption of war between thoſe two powers, Honoratus II thought proper in 1641 to enter into a perpetual aſſociation with France, and place himſelf under her protection. In conſequence of an agreement formed with Louis XIII, he expelled the Spaniſh forces from the city, and admitted a French garriſon in their ſtead. From that time the French have conſtantly occupied the citadel, but without claiming any right to the ſovereignty, which ſtill remains veſted in the prince.

Naples and Sicily.

The tracts which now conſtitute the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily are dotted with cities, which, united or ſeparate, once formed republics more or leſs extenſive. The Romans thus received them

as it were from the hand of nature, continued to ſome the privilege of ſelf-government, to others ſent magiſtrates under the titles of prætors, propræ tors, proconſuls—decorating ſome with the title of colonies or allies—an honour, of which they were deprived for the ſlighteſt fault againſt the paramount republic, and reduced to the rank of ſubjection. During the decadence of the empire, they recovered as great a portion as they could of their priſtine ſplendour: but it was conſiderably eclipſed by the Goths, the Lombards, and the Saracens, who ſucceſſively rendered themſelves maſters of the greater number of thoſe cities, in ſpite of the Greeks, whoſe emperors, until the ninth century, maintained in thoſe deſolated regions the rights of their tottering throne.

The Lombard governors and officers, toward the expiration of their monarchy, aſſumed honorific names, which became titles of ſovereignty in thoſe cities that they had originally been only commiſſioned to defend. Then were ſeen the counts of Amalfi, the dukes of Naples, the princes of Salerno. In 1002, Guimar, by birth a Lombard, poſſeſſed the laſt-mentioned principality. He found great difficulty in defending himſelf againſt the Saracens, who, being maſters of the chief part of Sicily, thence extended their devaſtations to Apulia and Calabria, and inhumanly ravaged thoſe provinces.

While Guimar was ready to ſink beneath their

efforts, an unexpected re-inforcement came to his aid: a band of Normans, returning from the holy land under the conduct of a French nobleman named Drogon, landed on his coasts. They found Guimar, in the very act of bargaining with the Saracens, offering them a considerable sum of money as the price of their withdrawing from Salerno, and on the point of concluding the contract. The Normans, well received by their host, oppose the agreement, attack the Saracens, defeat them with great slaughter, seise on the booty of those plunderers, and return to their own country, loaded with those riches and with the presents of Guimar. The sight of so great opulence, which might well tempt the avarice of any other people as well as the Normans—the description of the flattering prospects held out by the wealth of that country—the mild temperature of its sky, compared with the cold and foggy climate of Normandy—excited another body of Normans, under another nobleman named Drengot, to set out also to try their fortune. A.D. 1016.

They engaged in the service of several Greek and Lombard princes, who, after the term of their military exploits, permitted them, as a reward, to form settlements in their dominions. Aversa, a Norman town, was then founded, and created a county by the duke of Naples, who granted them the soil. The Norman colonies were multiplied: in the year 1018, Raoul, a nobleman of that na-

tion, assisted the pope in driving from the Ecclesiastical State the Greeks who had rendered themselves masters of it. In 1035, three sons (by a first wife) of Tancred, lord of Hauteville near Coutances, engaged in the service of the princes of Capua and Salerno. These three worthies, whose names were Willian Bras-de-fer *, Drogon, and Humphrey, signalised themselves by exploits so brilliant that the emperor of Constantinople, against whom they fought, wished to have them in his service after a peace had been concluded with the princes of Capua and Salerno. He readily obtained them from those princes, who were embarrassed to find a proper recompense for their valour,

A.D. 1043. The emperor sent them into Sicily, from which island he wished to expel the Saracens. When the Greeks had derived from the Normans the wished-for advantages, they not only with-held from them the stipulated reward of their successful labours, but even clandestinely carried off their booty. The Normans, whom it would even at that early period have been difficult to surpass in cunning, did not vent their resentment in complaints, but solely desired to be re-conducted to the continent whence they had been brought over. While the Greeks who remained in the island secured their own dominion there, the Normans, in compensa-

* Iron-arm.

tion of their diſappointment, wreſted from them the beautiful plains of Apulia, where they ſo firmly eſtabliſhed themſelves that they remained poſſeſſors of the country. William Bras-de-fer aſſumed the title of count of Apulia in 1043. He had been joined by five of his younger brothers, of whom Robert Guiſcard the eldeſt, and Roger the youngeſt, were thoſe who moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves.

William ſhared Apulia and his Calabrian poſſeſſions with not only his brothers Drogon and Humphrey but alſo the other Norman chiefs who had aſſiſted him in his conqueſt. Each of them was ſovereign in his own diſtrict: the town of Amalfi remained common to them all, and was deſtined for the ſeat of their general aſſemblies whenever the neceſſities of the ſtate ſhould require their convocation. Thus the conſtitution of thoſe Normans was an ariſtocratic republic, nearly reſembling that of Poland; and William was its chief. His brother Drogon ſucceeded him in that character, and received the inveſtiture of the duchy of Apulia from the emperor Henry II in the year 1047. The aboriginal inhabitants of thoſe provinces attempted to ſhake off the Norman yoke, and formed the plan of aſſaſſinating all thoſe foreigners at a preconcerted ſignal. But the efforts of the conſpirators fell on Drogon alone. His brother Humphrey took his place, and avenged his murder. At his death, which happened about the year 1054, his nephew Robert Guiſcard, ſucceeding to the ſtates

of his father and his two uncles, aſſumed the title of duke of Apulia.

With the view of conciliating the good will of the pope toward the conqueſt of Sicily which he had in contemplation, he acknowledged himſelf a vaſſal of the holy ſee in 1059. Robert was aided in his Sicilian expedition by his brother Roger, to whom he allotted a fine portion in that iſland, with the title of count of Sicily: but this grant was not made until they had firſt quarreled, and even waged war againſt each other with ſome degree of animoſity. Their mutual intereſts produced a reconciliation. Robert—after having incorporated with his own ſtates the principalities of Salerno, Benevento, and other places, the ſpoils of the firſt Norman lords—died in 1085, and was ſucceeded by Roger Burſa, his ſon, from whom the ſceptre paſſed in 1112 to his ſon William, who died in 1127 without leaving any iſſue. As to Roger count of Sicily, who died in 1101, his place was ſupplied by his eldeſt ſon Simon, who reigned only one year, and was ſucceeded by his brother Roger, who in 1127 united under his own dominion all the ſtates of the elder branch of the family, which then became extinct. In 1130 he cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria.

Roger II, A.D. 1130.

Thus the grandſon of a private Norman gentleman had the good fortune to eſtabliſh a powerful monarchy, and to take his rank among kings. Almoſt at the very moment of his aſcending the

throne, he was near being hurled from it by the emperor Lotharius. The cauſe or the pretext of their quarrel was their difference of opinion reſpecting pope Innocent II and the anti-pope Anacletus. Roger ſupported the latter, of whom he obtained every privilege that he deſired for his new-founded kingdom. The ariſtocratic form of government, introduced into it by William Bras-de-fer, was not aboliſhed; and the deſcendents of the firſt co-partners of the conquered country ſtill exiſted there under the title of barons. Theſe, ſeeing their authority infringed by the privileges that Roger received from the anti-pope, gave powerful aid to Lotharius. Their deſertion deprived Roger of above one half of his kingdom within the firſt year of the war: but he afterward repaired his loſſes. Lotharius, being emperor of Germany and obliged to pay conſtant attention to his own ſtates at home, was only a tranſient enemy; and a few victories were ſufficient to drive him away. But, as to the barons, whoſe domeſtic hoſtilities were more conſtant and more formidable, Roger laboured to reduce them not only by arms but by negotiation. They ſubmitted on different conditions, which being neither equal in themſelves nor clearly expreſſed, proved the ſource of new diſturbances under Roger's ſucceſſors.

That prince alſo came to a reconciliation with the legitimate popes. Not only did they grant to him the inveſtiture, which the art of the ſovereign

pontifs had induced the world to conſider as neceſſary and dependent on their pleaſure, but Lucius II even complimented the monarch with the ſingular prerogative of wearing the paſtoral ſtaff or croſier, the ring, the pall, the mitre, and ſandals. To avoid returning to theſe pontifical privileges, we will add that the kings of Naples and Sicily were afterward honoured with the title of apoſtolic legates throughout their entire dominions. This conceſſion, which at firſt ſeemed nothing more than an honorary diſtinction, afterward proved a very uſeful barrier to the Sicilian monarchs againſt the encroachments of the popes: for they eſtabliſhed, under the name of the "tribunal of legation," a court to whoſe cogniſance they ſubjected the papal bulls, which they accepted, rejected, or interpreted, according to their own intereſts.

Freed from domeſtic war, Roger carried his arms into Africa, againſt the Saracens, the ancient enemies of his ſtates. He there made conqueſts, acquired great ſpoil, and reduced ſome princes to the ſtate of tributaries. He alſo turned his force againſt the emperors of Conſtantinople, and gained ſome ſucceſſes, though not unmingled with misfortune: but the diſgrace of the latter was obliterated by the honour of ſaving Louis VIII king of France, from the hands of the Greeks, who were preparing to make him priſoner on his return from the holy land. This was a flattering circumſtance

for the grandſon of a French gentleman. Indeed Roger always teſtified great affection for that people from whom he derived his origin.

He is accuſed of having been paſſionately deſirous of wars and conqueſts, vindictive, thirſty of gold, cruel, implacable, carrying juſtice to rigor. A prince of Bari having committed ſome crimes, Roger brought him to trial, cauſed him to be faſtened to a gibbet by his accomplices, and ordered the parties to be puniſhed, theſe by the loſs of their ears, the other by that of his eyes. In private life he was as affable and mild, as he appeared harſh, ſevere, and haughty, in public. He was fond of the votaries of literature, and eagerly attracted to his court all the learned men and artiſts who had the reputation of excelling in their reſpective departments. He introduced order into his kingdom, enacted wiſe laws, and inſtituted charges of great officers of the crown—conſtable, admiral, chancellor—after the example of France. This monarch had given birth to a ſon, who, like himſelf, was named Roger. He cauſed him to be acknowledged as king: but that prince, his father's darling hope, was carried off by death, leaving only one ſon, whoſe legitimacy was conteſted. After his deceaſe, his conſort brought forth a princeſs who received the name of Conſtantia.

The crown therefore devolved to William, the younger ſon of Roger. Like his father, he was at variance with the popes: and they drew into William, A.D. 1154.

their quarrels the barons of Apulia, who were ever ready to take advantage of any opportunity of diminiſhing the authority of their ſovereigns. But the only gainers by thoſe wars were the pontifs, who invariably acquired ſome new rights by the treaties of peace; whereas the barons, after having haughtily advanced their pretenſions, deemed themſelves happy to return to their former condition.

The moſt prominent tranſaction of William's
A D. 1158. reign is the conſpiracy of Mayon, ſon of an oil-merchant of the city of Bari. This circumſtance of his birth is entitled to notice, as tending to increaſe our aſtoniſhment that ſuch a man ſhould have conceived the project of rendering himſelf king of Sicily, and been on the point of ſucceeding in his deſign. King Roger, finding him a man of talents, raiſed him, from the poſt of clerk in a public office, to that of vice-chancellor, and afterward chancellor. Under William he became admiral, prime-miniſter, and—what was ſtill more—the eye, the ear, the ſole confidant and counſellor, of his royal maſter. Thus Mayon ſucceeded in gaining entire poſſeſſion of William, by removing all thoſe who might have been able to open his eyes and give him information reſpecting his affairs—ſurrounding him with eunuchs, foreigners, baſe ſlaves devoted to his will—immerging him in effeminacy—inſpiring him at length with a diſguſt, an entire averſion, to every thing which concerned the government of his kingdom.

At the ſame time Mayon loaded the people with taxes, and committed, as well as cauſed to be committed, various acts of oppreſſion and injuſtice in the king's name, that the people, directing their reſentment againſt the monarch, might univerſally abandon him at the moment when the perfidious miniſter ſhould ſtrike the blow which he meditated. He had aſſociated in his criminal project Hugh archbiſhop of Palermo, a man equally ambitious with himſelf: but he had diſcloſed to him only one half of his ſecret—his intention of murdering an effeminate king who was unworthy to occupy the throne, of placing young Roger his ſon in his ſtead, and obtaining for himſelf, during the minority, the guardianſhip and regency, which he ſaid he intended to ſhare with the prelate. But Mayon had not intruſted him with his reſolution of taking off the ſon as well as the father, and ſeating himſelf on the vacant throne.

The friendſhip of villains is not of long duration. The two confederates differed in opinion on the ſubject of the regency. The archbiſhop began privately to make intereſt in his own favour, and gained over Matthew Bonnello, a young man of diſtinguiſhed birth. Mayon alſo ſought to attach him to his party by honours and the promiſe of giving him his daughter in marriage. It was not without reaſon that the two traitors were miſtruſtful of each other; for, at the moment when the archbiſhop was making every preparation to have

Mayon aſſaſſinated, Mayon cauſed him to be poiſoned. The prelate did not immediately die in conſequence; and the effect of the poiſon preſented the ſymptoms of ordinary ſickneſs. Mayon, as if affected with tender concern for his friend's health, haſtes to his bed-ſide, and propoſes to him remedies, which were perhaps only a ſtronger doſe of the deadly draught. Hugh, repaying with equal civility the civility of Mayon, affectionately thanks him, and, detaining him in his chamber, ſends private notice to Bonnello that the miniſter is there without defence. Bonnello repairs to the ſpot without delay, and cauſes him to be aſſaſſinated. On the following day the archbiſhop died, with the pleaſure of having ſent his criminal accomplice to the grave before himſelf.

The king was highly incenſed by the death of his favourite; nor was his anger appeaſed until the regal ornaments were ſhown to him which Mayon had cauſed to be prepared for himſelf, or which others had made and falſely attributed to him. This leſſon, however, did not reclaim William: he continued to live in the ſame indolence, and harboured a ſecret reſentment againſt Bonnello and thoſe who had aſſiſted him. He did not ſufficiently conceal it, ſince it did not eſcape their notice. They agreed therefore to dethrone that prince whoſe degeneracy rendered him unworthy of the throne, to confine him during the remainder of his days, and to ſet up his ſon in his place.

Every preparatory meaſure had been taken; and among the conſpirators were reckoned an uncle and two natural brothers of the king.

The firſt exploſion was to burſt from the priſons in the palace, where lay confined a number of noblemen who had, after the death of Mayon, been arreſted as ſuſpected perſons. The conſpirators now waited only for the return of Bonnello, who was employed on a diſtant expedition: but the indiſcretion of one of the party forced them to haſten the execution of the plot. It was effected in a tumultuary manner, and with the greateſt confuſion. The king, indeed, was ſeiſed and confined in an apartment under a ſtrong guard: but, contrary to the intention of the chiefs, the ſubaltern agents indulged in the greateſt exceſſes, pillaged, murdered, and, in the intoxication of their ſucceſs, did not ſpare the maidens and women belonging to the queen. Bonnello, though invited by repeated meſſages, did not arrive till the third day of the diſturbance. During that interval, William's eldeſt ſon Roger had been conducted through the ſtreets of Palermo on a white horſe, and ſaluted king of Sicily. The populace had received him with their uſual acclamations; but the gloomy ſilence of the principal men afforded ſufficient proof that the faction did not enjoy the general approbation.

Whether influenced by this motive, or touched with compaſſion for his ſovereign, whom he found

trembling, offering to reſign his crown, and no doubt far from ſparing of his promiſes—Bonnello, indignant at the exceſſes committed in his abſence, came to a reconciliation with the king, and reinſtated him on the throne. The conſpirators, not truſting either William's pardon or the favours with which he loaded them, withdrew for the moſt part into Greece. Bonnello, leſs prudent, bore the whole weight of the king's vengeance: for, under pretext of a new conſpiracy, William ordered his eyes to be put out, the ſinews of his feet to be cut, and immured him in a ſubterraneous dungeon, where he did not long ſurvive that treatment. A ſad example of the doom which commonly awaits thoſe who engage in factious machinations! but an example which will never reclaim any intriguer. On this occaſion it did not operate as a warning: for another conſpiracy of the priſoners broke out. A body of ſoldiery, ſeaſonably called in, endeavoured to drive them back into the places of their confinement: but they defended themſelves with the moſt determined valour, and all fell on the ſcene of action, preferring inſtant death to chains and the certain expectation of periſhing under a cruel and ignominious puniſhment. Delivered from theſe dangers, William, notwithſtanding his promiſes, continued to indulge in idleneſs and indolence: with theſe he united avarice, cruelty, and other vices, which cauſed him to be ſurnamed the Wicked. In a fit of

jealouſy againſt young Roger his eldeſt ſon whom he ſaw beloved by the Sicilians, he killed him with a kick in the ſtomach.

The ſceptre now devolved to William II the elder of his two ſurviving ſons, whom he left under the tutelage of his mother Margaret of Navarre. That princeſs did not eſcape ſuſpicion in the affair of Mayon, and is accuſed by ſome hiſtorians of having known and favoured and promoted the plot for the aſſaſſination of her huſband, and intended to marry his murderer. But, if we judge her without partiality, ſhe appears to have been a woman more weak than wicked, credulous, flexible, indolent, ſuſceptible of every impreſſion from thoſe who ſurrounded her, and incapable of remedying the diſorders of a court. That of Sicily, after the death of her huſband, preſented an afflictive ſpectacle—a greedy, unjuſt, oppreſſive miniſtry—ambitious favourites—a crowd of courtiers mean, perfidious, void of faith and honour, ſolely occupied by the care of their own aggrandiſement—a prelacy unbridled and ſhameleſs in their licentious courſes, ambitious, haughty—in ſhort a hoſt of all thoſe vices which diſhonour and degrade thoſe who by their birth and rank ought to be the models of every virtue to the people. William II, A.D. 1166.

The minority of William II was agitated by continual diſturbances, and inceſſant changes of miniſters, who rapidly ſucceeded each other. Among all theſe the queen regent never found

more than one who deſerved the appellation of a good miniſter—a Frenchman, by name Stephen de Rotrou, ſon of the count of Perche. In the eyes of the Sicilian nobleſſe, he was tainted with the unpardonable guilt of being a foreigner: and, though the queen exerted her beſt endeavours to ſupport him in oppoſition to their cabals, ſhe was at length obliged to abandon him. He retired, carrying away with him no other wealth than eſteem. She was not more ſucceſsful in defending another favourite, who did not do equal credit to her choice—a eunuch, named Peter, whom ſhe elevated to the rank of prime miniſter. Compelled by an oppoſing faction, he quitted his poſt; but he withdrew loaded with gold, and went to ſpend his treaſures among the Saracens, whom, during his miniſtry, he had obliged at the expenſe of Sicily.

The face of affairs underwent a change when William took the reins of government into his own hand. It is aſtoniſhing that a young prince, educated in a corrupt court and having inceſſantly before his eyes ſo many evil examples, was able to ſtem the torrent of vice, and become a pattern of virtue. His ſubjects ſurnamed him the Good—an epithet which, having been ſpontaneouſly given after an experimental knowledge of his character, is equivalent to the higheſt encomiums. He is charged with only a ſingle fault—a fatal error, indeed, in politics, ſince it plunged Sicily into long

and ruinous wars: it was that of giving his aunt Conſtantia in marriage to Henry king of the Romans, who afterward became emperor. That princeſs was thirty-two years old: and the alternative between her marriage and celibacy was a ſubject of conſideration the more important as the Good William deſpaired of having children in conſequence of his wife's ſterility, and there was a prince—grandſon of Roger, and nephew to Conſtantia, though older than ſhe—who would not fail to ſtep forward as heir to the throne.

In effect, Tancred—ſon of that prince Roger whom king Roger his father had ſo bitterly regretted—maintained that a marriage had been contracted between the prince and the daughter of the count of Lecce, his mother; that conſequently he was his legitimate offspring, and, in that quality, heir to the throne, as repreſentative of his father, the eldeſt ſon of Conſtantia. But William had thrown an obſtacle to bar his claims, by cauſing his aunt Conſtantia to be acknowledged as heireſs when he gave her in marriage to Henry. Tancred, A.D. 1189.

As ſoon as the grave had cloſed upon the Good William, whoſe virtues yet lived in the grateful remembrance of his mourning ſubjects, the diſpute commenced concerning the ſucceſſion. The principal barons, ſeeing nought between them and the throne but a woman and a baſtard, all aſpired to it. Tancred found it a difficult taſk to gain over

a ſufficient number of them to his party. Several, proudly diſdaining ſubjection to a prince of equivocal birth, or induced by intereſted motives to prefer obedience to a diſtant prince, declared themſelves for Henry. Others remained neuter. Thus Tancred found himſelf reduced to withſtand with very inferior ſtrength the ſhock of almoſt the entire force of Germany which came to ruſh upon him. He united the wiſhes of the people, the ſuffrages of all good men, which he had merited by his eſtimable qualities. His banners were pretty conſtantly gilded with the ſmiles of Victory; nor did he ever make an improper uſe of her favours. Having become arbiter of the fate of the only rival he had to fear—his aunt Conſtantia—whom the inhabitants of Salerno had delivered into his hands, he ſent her back to her huſband the emperor, loaded with honours and preſents.

It is beyond a doubt that he would have ſucceeded in ſecurely fixing the crown on his own head and tranſmitting it to his poſterity, if he had not been carried off by a premature death. He pined away through grief for the loſs of his eldeſt ſon, a young man eminently diſtinguiſhed by his valour and good qualities—a prince, in ſhort, every way worthy of his father. He had cauſed him to be crowned: but death cut him off in the flower of his age. Tancred had three daughters and a remaining ſon. He took the precaution of having

the crown placed on the head of that young prince; but the latter was yet too feeble to ſupport its weight.

The emperor Henry declared himſelf king of Sicily, in the right of his wife Conſtantia: in aſſerting which claim, he found no other competitor than a minor king under the tutelage of the queen his mother. Againſt William, and in favour of Henry, militated the infidelity of the barons, the inactivity of the plebeians, an army of war-trained Germans, and all the reſources of craft and perfidy. Theſe laſt two means ſucceeded better with the emperor than open force. In conſequence of the defection of the nobles who had been won over to the enemy by large promiſes, the queen ſaw herſelf cloſely blockaded with her family in a caſtle, where ſhe could have made a long reſiſtance: but the artful Henry decoyed her from that ſtrong-hold by offering to her the principality of Tarentum for the king her ſon, on condition of his renouncing the throne. For herſelf he propoſed lands, ready money to portion her daughter, and penſions. In her deſperate ſituation, ſuch conditions appeared highly advantageous: the young monarch, William, came forth, and weeping laid his crown at the feet of the victor, who was not affected by his nephew's tears. Thus that kingdom, founded by the deſcendents of Tancred de Hauteville, paſſed in 1195, from the hands of the Normans who had enjoyed it about a hundred and twenty years, to

William III, A.D. 1174.

the poſſeſſion of the German princes of the houſe of Swabia.

Henry I, A.D. 1195. Henry was, in one year, guilty of as many cruelties as are ſometimes committed in the whole courſe of a long reign. He violated all the promiſes he had made to the family of Tancred, and cauſed the mother, the daughter, and the ſon, to be conducted to a priſon in Germany. The captive prince, who had not yet reached the age of manhood, was deprived of his eyes, ſuffered caſtration, and died within a year. The combination of thoſe two barbarous operations was Henry's favourite mode of puniſhment, which he inflicted even on full-grown men: but, notwithſtanding that predilection, he took pleaſure alſo in ſome others, ſuch as dragging his victims at a horſe's tail, or hanging them with the head downward; in which ſtate of cruel torture a brother-in-law of Tancred lived two days. The emperor cauſed the bodies of Tancred and his ſon Roger to be torn from the grave, that he might ſtrip them of their crowns, which he afterward ordered to be nailed on the heads of two zealous partiſans of thoſe princes. Theſe deeds of horror gained for him the ſurname of the Nero of Sicily. He died univerſally deteſted; and his exit is thought to have been haſtened by poiſon: reſpecting which circumſtance, the ſuſpicions of hiſtory point to the empreſs Conſtantia, his wife.

That princeſs did not long ſurvive him. At her

death ſhe nominated the pope as guardian to her ſon Frederic, and regent of the kingdom. For theſe functions her will bequeathed to the pontif an annual ſum. The pope, Innocent III, managed the affairs of his ward with ſufficient judgement: he procured for him the hand of Conſtantia, daughter of Alfonſo II king of Arragon, on condition that the father ſhould with the aid of his whole force ſupport the ſon-in-law againſt his enemies, and that, in caſe of Frederic's dying without iſſue by Conſtantia, the crown of Sicily ſhould devolve to Ferdinand, the brother of that princeſs. Frederic, A.D. 1197.

But, during the life of Innocent himſelf, the power of Ferdinand, who was now become emperor, appeared formidable to the pontif who had reared him. The pope therefore preſſed him to reſign the kingdom of Sicily to his ſon Henry, whom he had indeed cauſed to be crowned, but without transferring to him the regal authority. The miſunderſtanding between the papacy and the empire aſſumed a ſerious aſpect under Gregory IX. Frederic, at the ſame time that he reſiſted the haughty pretenſions and dangerous attempts of the pope, made ſome ſacrifices to prevent the pontif from proceeding to exceſſive lengths againſt him. Although excommunicated, he took the croſs, performed a journey to the holy land, and accompliſhed his deſign in ſpite of all the obſtacles thrown in his way. The thunders of the Vatican, with which he had been ſmitten, carried ſo much

terror to every mind, that, among the numerous prelates who had accompanied him from his kingdom, there was not one who dared to place the crown of Jeruſalem on his head: he was therefore obliged to take it with his own hand from the altar, and to crown himſelf.

Frederic was reconciled to Gregory, but quarreled anew with Innocent IV, who depoſed him in the council of Lyons. That prince died under the ſentence of excommunication. Beſides ſix lawful wives, he had ſeveral miſtreſſes, and dragged about with him in his military expeditions a whole harem of Saracen women. His viſits to the Eaſt had inſpired him with a ſtrong reliſh for Aſiatic luxury and voluptuouſneſs. He cheriſhed men of learning, was liberal, brave, generous, indulgent to his ſubmitting enemies, but proud, haughty, violent, toward thoſe of contrary behaviour. He is ſaid to have remarked, after his return from the holy land, that, "if the God of the Jews had ſeen the "kingdom of Naples, he would not have made "ſuch a noiſe concerning his land of promiſe." Frederic founded academies, among others the famous ſchool of medicine at Salerno. He embelliſhed the city of Naples, which the princes of the houſe of Swabia choſe for the capital of the two kingdoms. From ſo many wives he left no legitimate ſons except Conrad and Henry, the latter of whom died ſoon after his father. In default of the poſterity of theſe two princes, in caſe it

ſhould happen to fail, Frederic deviſed the ſucceſſion to Manfredi, whom he had had by a miſtreſs more fondly beloved than the others.

During nearly four years that Conrad lived and reigned, Manfredi, his natural brother, ſerved a ſevere apprenticeſhip of docility. Conrad was jealous of him, and ſpared him no mortifications or even affronts. Manfredi endured the whole with a patience which attracted univerſal admiration, and won for him every heart. He was elder than Conrad. The latter died of ſickneſs at the age of twenty-ſix. He had been engaged with the popes in violent conteſts, which were productive of a ſentence of excommunication againſt his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Otho duke of Bavaria. He left a ſon, of very tender years, who has been vulgarly called Conradin. Whatever good was done in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily under the reign of Conrad, was the work of Manfredi. His father, notwithſtanding his jealouſy, could not forbear employing him in war and ſtate affairs. Thus the public mind was prepoſſeſſed in his favour at the time of his father's deceaſe; and the ſtates appointed him guardian to the young prince. Conrad I. A.D. 1250.

But he had a terrible adverſary in pope Innocent IV, who, without regarding either tutelage or regency, ſuddenly declared both kingdoms incorporated with the papal dominions—that of Sicily, becauſe it had devolved to the holy ſee when Conrad, like Frederic his father, was excommuni- Conrad II, called Conradin, A.D. 1254.

cated—Apulia and Calabria, becauſe his legate, having lately appeared in arms in thoſe two provinces, had received from them the oath of allegiance. Manfredi himſelf had tolerated that homage, becauſe unable to oppoſe it: but, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf at the head of a ſufficient force, he courageouſly reſiſted the attempts of the popes, and gained ſome victories. Innocent, who had thought himſelf completely maſter of thoſe kingdoms, was ſo affected by theſe reverſes, that he died of grief. During the pontificate of Alexander VI, Manfredi maintained his advantages, and furniſhed himſelf with a mean of augmenting them.

Hitherto he had fought in quality of regent to emancipate the crown from the dominion of the popes. In 1258 a report was ſpread that young Conradin had died in Germany, whither he had been carried by the princeſs of Bavaria his mother. Manfredi, without much inveſtigation into the authenticity of the intelligence, adopted it as true: he is even ſaid to have himſelf been the inventor of it. On the ſtrength of Frederic's will, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of Naples and Sicily. Conrad's widow ſent to inform him that her ſon was yet living, and to deſire that he ſhould conſequently lay down the ſceptre which he had uſurped. To this meſſage Manfredi replied that the kingdom of Naples was his lawful property, ſince he had with ſo much labour ſnatched it from the hands of its enemies, who, but for

him, would ſtill poſſeſs it; that, however, the mother would do well to ſend his nephew to him, and thus give the young prince an opportunity of making himſelf known in the country, and becoming accuſtomed to the uſages of the people. The queen acted wiſely in not truſting to this invitation, if it be true that Manfredi cauſed the embaſſadors to be aſſaſſinated whom ſhe ſent to him, as well as thoſe whom ſhe had diſpatched to the pope.

Innocent availed himſelf of this occaſion to aggravate the anathema which he had hurled againſt Manfredi, and declared him to have forfeited his kingdom, not as the unauthoriſed occupant of his nephew's throne, but as the uſurper of ſtates belonging to the Roman church. Innocent left to his ſucceſſor Urban IX the taſk of purſuing the effects of his excommunication. Urban, ſenſible that his ſpiritual thunderbolts, if they continued to paſs off in flaſhes, would be little dreaded by Manfredi, ſought to feed them with deſtructive fires which ſhould not ſtrike in vain. His predeceſſor had offered the crown of Naples and Sicily to ſeveral princes, on condition that thoſe whom he complimented with ſo valuable a gift ſhould make the conqueſt of it. Strange prejudice of the age, that could annex any value to ſuch a donation! Louis IX, king of France, had declined it: Henry III of England had in like manner rejected it, when propoſed for his brother and his ſecond ſon.

Charles, count of Anjou, did not hesitate, but accepted the proffered boon.

The treaty between Urban and him was concluded in 1265. It contained a renunciation, on the part of the future king, of the sovereignty of all the domains possessed by the holy see in the two kingdoms: it moreover insured a reversion of the crown to the papacy in the event of a failure of lawful heirs—a triennial homage, in the payment of a considerable sum, to be presented, together with a white palfrey, by the grand-constable of the kingdom—on the accession of each new monarch, an oath of allegiance to the sovereign pontif, to be taken in the city of Rome by the king in person, if so required. To these were added other clauses containing stipulations of assistance in men and money to the holy see in case of necessity—with a solemn engagement to abstain from meddling with the immunities of the church—the whole concluding with the promise, which had been exacted of Charles, that he and his nobles should, as soon as the kingdom were conquered, acknowledge in the most authentic form, that he held it, and that his successors should hold it, by the pure liberality and favour of the holy see.

As soon as these conditions were signed, Charles began his preparatives. A crowd of French noblemen flocked to his standard, conceiving themselves about to gain conquests in heaven since Urban had

proclaimed a cruſade againſt Manfredi. In addition to the aid of thoſe cruſaders, the pope had procured for his *protégé* a ſecret underſtanding in the kingdom which he was preparing to conquer. He crowned him at Rome in the year 1266, and ſent him, accompanied by his pontifical benedictions and ſome batallions with which he ſupplied him, to encounter a well-eſtabliſhed monarch, whoſe troops had hitherto ever triumphed. But nought could withſtand the furious impetuoſity of the French.

Animated by the double incentive of religion and glory, they overturn citadels, and ſcale the walls of towns. Even in thoſe which ſpontaneouſly ſubmitted, theſe cruſadoes are ſaid to have not always conducted themſelves as good Chriſtians—a circumſtance which diſpleaſed the pope. At length the two adverſe armies appeared in front of each other. Manfredi, inferior in ſtrength, ought not to have engaged in combat, becauſe his enemy was beginning to feel the want of proviſions: but he feared that, if the engagement were delayed, his army—compoſed of Saracens, Sicilians, Piſans, Lombards, Germans, all mercenary troops—would diſband. He therefore determined on giving battle. The event proved very fatal to him: after heroic exertions of courage, he periſhed in the field. His dead body was found amid a heap of ſlain. Charles treated it with indignity, as that of an excommunicate perſon, and deprived it of the rites

of ſepulture. If we feel a difficulty in believing that princes were infected with the ſame prejudice as the vulgar throng on the ſubject of excommunication, at leaſt we may ſuppoſe that they were glad to take advantage of it for the purpoſe of blackening in the eſtimation of the world thoſe rivals on whom they had called down that infliction of papal ſeverity.

Charles I, A.D. 1266. That prejudice proved alſo powerfully aſſiſtant to Charles of Anjou in oppoſition to a competitor whom his rights, his valour, and the favour of the people naturally won by the graces of youth, rendered a formidable rival. While Manfredi diſputed his kingdom with the *protégé* of the popes, his nephew Conradin was growing up at the court of Otho of Bavaria his maternal grand-father, and inſpired his friends with the hope of one day ſeeing him add new glory to the houſe of Swabia. The Neapolitans, harſhly treated by the ſavage count of Anjou, turned their longing eyes toward the deſcendent of a family whoſe mild government they regretted; and their wiſhes invited him to the throne. But his mother Elizabeth, alarmed at the dangers to which that beloved ſon would be expoſed, endeavoured by every argument in her power to retain him in Germany.

A.D. 1268. Conradin, however, more ſenſible to the voice of glory than to his mother's tears, tore himſelf, at the age of ſixteen, from the pleaſures of his grandfather's court, with his friend Frederic of Auſtria, of

the ſame age with himſelf, and intrepidly ſallied forth to attack the conqueror of his uncle in the very heart of his dominions. He commenced his march with a body of ſix thouſand horſe, and the additional hope that, as ſoon as he ſhould have paſſed the frontiers of Germany, the ſtrength of his army would be increaſed by the acceſſion of numerous mal-contents. The firſt obſtacle he had to encounter was a bull from the pope, forbidding him under pain of excommunication to enter Italy. From the time of the emperor Frederic, the papal anathemas were a kind of hereditary plague that adhered to the houſe of Swabia. The young prince was not terrified by the pontifical thunder: but a great number of his ſoldiers, leſs intrepid than he, were alarmed, and abandoned him. Without being diſconcerted, young Conradin advances with his remaining force; and his firmneſs attracts new auxiliaries to his banners, to which others are allured by the temptations of advantage. His army ſwells in bulk: he victoriouſly traverſes Lombardy and Tuſcany, and is received in Rome. The pope had retired to Viterbo, where, ſeeing the young prince paſs before the walls of the city, he prophetically ſaid—"There is a ſheep who is led "to the ſlaughter."

Nevertheleſs, to judge from appearances, the prediction ought rather to have been in favour of Conradin: for the valour, the mildneſs, the humanity, the perſonal dignity and grace, all the ſub-

ſtantial and brilliant qualifications of that young prince, gave him an intereſt in the hearts of almoſt entire Italy; and his army, glowing with martial ardour, was more numerous by one half than that of his antagoniſt: whereas Charles, ill aſſured of the fidelity of his ſubjects, could hardly place any reliance except on his Frenchmen who had aſſiſted him in triumphing over Manfredi, but whoſe ranks were by this time conſiderably thinned. This inferiority, however, did not render him leſs eager in ſeeking an opportunity of bringing the conteſt to the deciſion of a general engagement.

The action was fought on the eve of Saint Bartholomew's day in the year 1268. Charles's troops were at firſt put to flight in every quarter; whereupon the Germans, thinking the battle gained, confuſedly purſued the fleeing foe, or waſted their moments in ſtripping the ſlain. Conradin, Frederic, and the principal chiefs, diſencumbered themſelves of their arms, and ſat down on the graſs in a valley, whence they enjoyed the pleaſing ſpectacle of their ſoldiers reaping the fruits of their victory. Suddenly they behold their victorious bands recoiling toward them, and vigorouſly purſued. Some ſquadrons of enemies, concealed behind an eminence, had ſurpriſed them in the diſorderly tumult of ſucceſs, and were now chaſing them before their preſence. In vain the princes endeavour to rally their troops: their efforts are of no avail: they are themſelves hurried along by

the crowd. The whole army is diſperſed: the carnage becomes dreadful: Conradin and Frederic, after roaming about for ſome days, at length fall into the hands of Charles.

Clemency was not that prince's favourite virtue. By his ſanguinary order, ſcaffolds were erected in all the principal towns; and as many of Conradin's partiſans as could be taken, periſhed under the axe of the executioner. The two young princes, immured in a caſtle and reſerved for the laſt act of this bloody tragedy, languiſhed in confinement during a year. All the kings of Europe took an intereſt in their fate. Elizabeth, the mother of Conradin, made to Charles the offer of ſums capable of tempting a monarch ever diſtreſſed by the want of money. He remained inflexible, and condemned his priſoners to death as guilty of high treaſon, diſturbers of the public peace, rebels, and enemies of the church.

They were both entering on their ſeventeenth year. A prieſt attends to hear their confeſſion, as likewiſe that of ſeveral noblemen condemned to periſh with them. They are obliged to aſſiſt at the office and maſs for the dead in a chapel hung with black. They hear a long ſermon full of invectives and anathemas, and are conducted to the market-ſquare of Naples. Arrived at the ſcaffold, Conradin harangues the people, repreſenting to them the injuſtice of the ſentence by which he is to be deprived of his life together with the king-

dom belonging to him; and, as a token of the ceſſion of his rights, he flings his glove into the ſquare, to be taken up by whoever wiſhes to ſtand forth his avenger. Then turning to Frederic, he entreats his pardon for having ſuffered him to become a ſharer in his misfortunes. His youthful friend no otherwiſe anſwers him than by ruſhing into his arms. They tenderly embrace each other: Frederic courageouſly lays his head on the block; the head falls: Conradin takes it up in his hands, kiſſes it, bathes it with his tears, and preſents his own to the executioner, who ſevers it from his body at a ſingle blow.

His laſt words were, "Ah! my mother! what "grief will my death cauſe to you!" In effect, the unfortunate Elizabeth, not deſpairing of being able to touch the heart of Charles, had embarked with ſums capable of tempting his avarice. On her paſſage ſhe learned that ſhe would arrive too late. By her order, the colours and the ſails are changed; the ſhip is arrayed all in black; and in this funereal equipage ſhe approaches the city of Naples. She ſupplicates the king for permiſſion to erect a tomb to her ſon. This ſad conſolation is refuſed to her: his body, and thoſe of his fellow-ſufferers, remained expoſed in the market-place—unworthy, Charles ſaid, of a burial in conſecrated ground, as being excommunicate. By force of ſolicitations the tyrant was prevailed on to allow that they ſhould be buried by the ſea-ſide, in a

ſpot where his ſon afterward built a convent in expiation of his father's cruelty. Thus ended the illuſtrious houſe of Swabia, the object of papal vengeance during a period of nearly eighty years. This cataſtrophe may be conſidered as a puniſhment for the cruelties which the family of Swabia had exerciſed againſt that of Tancred. But unfortunately the puniſhment fell on an innocent perſon.

This bloody execution ſecured the ſceptre to Charles, on whom was conferred the title of "defender of the church." Indeed he effected a reconciliation between his ſubjects and Rome, from which Manfredi had alienated them: but he did not render them more happy. Hiſtorians have drawn a frightful picture of his reign. The people, ſay they, were loaded with taxes, and trampled under foot by the king and his miniſters: haraſſed by the rapacity and tyranny of the latter, they groaned under an oppreſſive yoke: while the avidity of a crowd of foreigners, the king's favourites, deſpoiled them of their property; the inſolence of thoſe ſtrangers outraged them in their perſons and their honour. Every ſpecies of injuſtice was committed with impunity: blood ſtreamed in torrents: gibbets and ſcaffolds ſtood erected in moſt of the towns. Each family, overwhelmed with conſternation and clad in the ſable garb of mourning, was a prey to grief for the paſt, as well

as to the fear of furniſhing ſome new victim to the executioners.

In conſequence of theſe exceſſes, the "defender "of the church" was branded with the appellation of the "tyrant of the two Sicilies." Like other tyrants whom he reſembled, he ſhuddered with dread of the vengeance of his oppreſſed ſubjects, and never appeared in public unſurrounded by a band of ſatellites, the ready miniſters of his will, and intereſted in his preſervation. The ſlighteſt movement was anticipated by the ſpeedy infliction of death. Thus the inhabitants of the two Sicilies ſuffered, under the domination of the French and of the houſe of Anjou, the juſt puniſhment of that inconſtancy which had impelled them to abandon the houſe of Swabia. But the French were, in their turn, puniſhed for their oppreſſions; and Charles, who had conducted them into theſe countries which he drenched with blood, was the firſt to pay the penalty of his barbarity, by the diſaſters which embittered the latter years of his exiſtence.

Under his reign Naples increaſed, while he neglected Sicily and Palermo, the favourite abode of his predeceſſors. Leſs cloſely watched on account of their diſtance, the Sicilians dared to execute a deed, not unexampled in hiſtory, yet not the leſs aſtoniſhing. John, lord of the little iſle of Procida, and a zealous partiſan of the houſe of Swabia,

burned with the deſire of avenging it. His intentions becoming known, Charles commiſſions ſpies to watch his ſteps. John eludes their vigilance, and eſcapes the aſſaſſins' ſteel. Diſguiſed in a friar's frock, he ranges through Sicily, foments the ſpirit of diſcontent, and every-where ſcatters the ſparks of ſedition and vengeance againſt the French. Rome, ſo powerful in that kingdom, might have been able to oppoſe his deſigns againſt the tyrant: but John continues to ſet in ſuch a light ſome omiſſions on the part of Charles, as to ſecure the pope's neutrality. He went, moreover, even to Conſtantinople and Arragon to ſtir up enemies againſt the king. Peter, who occupied the throne of Arragon, had eſpouſed Conſtantia, the daughter of Manfredi—an alliance which furniſhed one motive for riſing in oppoſition to Charles. Another was, that Conradin, Conſtantia's couſin, had named Peter in throwing his glove from the ſcaffold, and it was picked up by an Arragoneſe knight, who carried it home to his royal maſter—a circumſtance of which the lord of Procida dexterouſly availed himſelf to inflame Peter with the noble deſire of avenging his wife's ill-fated kinſman.

Aſſured of theſe foreign reſources in aid of the domeſtic efforts of his friends, the active Procida returns to Palermo, and arranges every part of his plan with the utmoſt ſecrecy. On eaſter-day in the year 1282, at the ſound of the bell which ſummoned the faithful to veſpers, the people roſe

Sicilian Veſpers, A.D. 1282.

againſt their tyrants, ran about the ſtreets, broke open the doors of houſes, butchered all the French, without ſparing even the children, or the women who were married to theſe foreigners and pregnant by them. Similar havoc was made in the other towns of Sicily at the ſame ſignal; from which circumſtance this maſſacre has been deſignated by the appellation of the "Sicilian Veſpers." A ſingle Frenchman, a noble of Provence, by name William de Porcelet, the governor of a ſmall town, was ſpared in conſideration of his univerſally acknowledged virtue and probity. A veſſel was given to him to convey him and his family back to his own country. All the other French were ſacrificed to the hatred and vengeance of the Sicilians. Their number is ſaid to have been above eight thouſand.

Peter I. king of Sicily, A.D. 1282.

Every meaſure had been ſo ably pre-concerted, that, two days after the execution, Peter of Arragon arrived with a body of troops. His arrival was ſeaſonable: for the Sicilians already began to dread the conſequences of their daring deed, and even talked of throwing themſelves on the clemency of Charles, the moſt mercileſs of men. The Arragoneſe monarch, received with the moſt joyous acclamations, cauſed himſelf to be crowned in the cathedral of Palermo. From that moment the kingdom of Sicily was ſeparated from that of Naples, even during the life-time of him who had united them both under his ſceptre: from that

epoch alſo we muſt date the commencement of thoſe long wars which coſt France ſo great a profuſion of money and blood: finally, from that time the peoples of Sicily and Naples have been the ſport of the ambition of princes, who have given them to or ſnatched them from each other according to the intereſt of the moment: whence it has happened, that, being treated leſs as ſubjects than as ſlaves, they have never been ſincerely attached to any of thoſe ſovereigns, and that there is perhaps no country where revolutions have been more frequent. A writer who has penned their hiſtory gave to his work the title of "The thirty-"five revolts of the moſt faithful people of Naples."

On receiving intelligence of that dreadful butchery, Charles, the moſt violent and impetuous of men, was for ſome time unable to utter a ſingle word—ſo much was he ſwollen with paſſion. With convulſive emotion he bit a cane which he uſually carried, and looked around him with wild and frantic air. Without delay he cauſed a fleet to ſail, which he had originally deſtined for Conſtantinople. His troops debarked before Meſſina; but their efforts againſt that city were not ſucceſsful. The prince of Palermo, his ſon, after ſuffering an almoſt total defeat at ſea, fell into the hands of the enemy. The Arragoneſe admiral conducted him to within ſight of Naples, and threatened to have him beheaded unleſs Charles would deliver up to him the princeſs Beatrix, Manfredi's daughter,

who, after the death of her father, had been impriſoned in the caſtle dell' Uovo with her mother, and her brother yet a child. The mother and her ſon had periſhed in their confinement either by famine or by poiſon. Beatrix, who ſtill ſurvived, embarked on board the victorious fleet, dragging into captivity the ſon of the perſecutor of her family. He was immured in a ſtrong caſtle, and was indebted for his life to the kindneſs of queen Conſtantia, which reſcued him from the fury of the Sicilians, who loudly called for his death. During three years, which elapſed from the ſeparation of Sicily to the death of Charles, he experienced nought but reverſes. Overwhelmed with chagrin and languor, ſinking under the weight of his misfortunes, and wrung with the pangs of deſpair which internally preyed upon his ſoul, he died, after a few days of illneſs, in the moſt cruel uncertainty reſpecting the fate of his family, of which the principal member lay in chains. It has been aſſerted that Charles of Anjou ſtrangled himſelf—a fit exit for a tyrant!

Charles II, king of Naples, A.D.

Charles II, ſurnamed the Lame, was in irons. The kingdom was governed by a regency whom his father had nominated during the prince's captivity, which continued four years. He obtained his releaſe from confinement by marrying a daughter of the king of Arragon, and ſolemnly renouncing his claim to Sicily in favour of one of his brothers-in-law. His Arragoneſe conſort dy-

ing, he married a princeſs of Hungary, who brought him five ſons and ſix daughters. Charles II employed his whole attention in procuring happineſs for the people of Naples, as well as for thoſe of Provence, the apanage of the houſe of Anjou. During his reign the throne of Hungary becoming vacant, his eldeſt ſon Charles Martel was called to fill it in right of his mother, and, dying, left a ſon named Charobert, to whom his crown devolved. Charles the Lame, ſeeing his grand-ſon already graced with a ſceptre, bequeathed that of Naples to Robert duke of Calabria, the eldeſt of his ſons after Charles Martel.

Robert the Good, A.D. 1309.

Charobert, though diſſatisfied with his lot, did not however venture too openly to avow his pretenſions during the life of his uncle. Robert reigned with glory, rendered himſelf very powerful in Italy, and became ſovereign of Genoa. But he failed in ſeveral attempts againſt Sicily, that brilliant gem torn from his crown, and now poſſeſſed by Frederic, the brother of James king of Arragon, his predeceſſor. The commander in thoſe expeditions was the duke of Calabria, his ſon, who waged war with valour, but was not fond of it; for he could not without heart-felt regret behold the ravages with which it marks the path of heroes, even of thoſe who leaſt delight in blood. His father alleviated to himſelf the taſk of empire by intruſting him with the moſt laborious concerns of government: and the duke ſo ſucceſsfully eſta-

bliſhed peace in all the provinces by reconciling intereſts before thought incompatible, that, on the tomb erected to his memory, he was repreſented with a veſſel at his feet, from which a wolf and a lamb were ſeen drinking together without either moleſting the other. The death of this ſon, ſo fondly beloved and ſo worthy of his love, ſeverely wounded the ſenſibility of Robert's heart. That monarch is called the "Good," and the "Wiſe."

The duke of Calabria had left a daughter named Joan, yet in the age of childhood. Her grandfather, who had no other poſterity, laboured to beſtow on her a good education which ſhould render her worthy of the exalted deſtiny that awaited her. With the view of preventing thoſe wars which might be occaſioned by the pretenſions of the Hungarian branch of the family, he reſolved to blend together the rights of both, ſent an embaſſy to his nephew Charobert, and aſked of him his ſecond ſon Andrew, as a huſband for his grand-daughter.

The two children were betrothed to each other at ſeven years of age. They grew up together: but love did not grow up with them. Andrew was governed by a monk, called brother Robert, whom his father had appointed his preceptor. That clown taught him to preſerve the Hungarian manners, wholly incompatible with thoſe of the Neapolitan court, where ſhone the French politeneſs refined by Italian delicacy. Charles the Good, whoſe eaſy goodneſs was in this inſtance carried

too far, allowed this education which formed ſo ſtrong a contraſt with that of his grand-daughter. The indifference that was early remarked between the betrothed pair did not prevent the tying of the matrimonial knot, which was conſidered as a meaſure of political neceſſity. The marriage was celebrated with magnificence, and accompanied by great demonſtrations of joy: but, within his own breaſt, the king felt deep regret for having made ſo bad a choice, and having with his own hand linked the fate of his grand-daughter, who excited the moſt flattering hopes, with that of a rude unpoliſhed man wholly void of merit. Robert the Wiſe carried this regret to his grave, together with a fear of the diſturbances which might ariſe after his death, notwithſtanding the precautions he had taken to prevent them. One of theſe was an order that his grand-daughter ſhould be acknowledged ſole queen. He appointed for her a council compoſed of the princes of his own blood, and of thoſe perſons who were beſt informed in the affairs of the government and moſt attached to his family, with the condition, which was repeated in his will, that her huſband, bearing the title of duke of Calabria, ſhould have no ſhare in the ſupreme authority.

Joan I, heireſs of Naples and Sicily, of the ſtates of the houſe of Anjou in Provence, and titular queen of Jeruſalem, had no ſooner aſcended the throne than, contrary to the

Joan I. A. D 1341.

expreſs injunction of her grand-father, ſhe ſeated on it her huſband Andrew. In a ſhort time brother Robert and the Hungarians got poſſeſſion of the whole power. The queen, however, had alone been crowned: but the Hungarians aſſerted that the diadem ought alſo to be placed on the head of Andrew, as being heir to it in the right of Charles Martel his grand-father. Perhaps the queen, more propenſe to pleaſure than to buſineſs, would have felt little inclination to govern alone, if ſhe had been bleſſed with a huſband more aſſimilate in character to herſelf. But, while ſhe won the affections of her ſubjects by her perſonal graces, and their eſteem by her mental endowments, her huſband excited univeral hatred and contempt by his unpoliſhed manners, the ſtupid dullneſs of his narrow mind, and his life entirely devoted to trifling amuſements and degrading pleaſures.

Lewis of Hungary, brother to Andrew, earneſtly ſolicited the pope (without whoſe ſanction it was thought that nothing could be done) to permit that Joan's huſband ſhould be crowned. When the Neapolitan nobles were informed that the papal bull was on its way from Rome,—fearing leſt the ceremony which would be the conſequence of it ſhould confer abſolute authority on a prince whom they deemed unworthy to poſſeſs ſuch power, they reſolved to prevent it. The ſcheme of conſpiracy planned by them appears to have

been executed by perſons connected with the queen—by Philippina a woman attached to her ſervice, her ſon, her grand-ſon, and two Calabrian nobles. A meſſage was delivered to the prince while in his wife's apartment, that brother Robert wiſhed to ſee him on urgent buſineſs. He went out; and in the middle of a gallery through which he had to paſs, a cord was thrown round his neck; he was ſtrangled, and his body caſt forth from a window.

Brother Robert and his Hungarians trembled for their lives: but the conſpirators contented themſelves with diſmiſſing them. From the terror manifeſted by the queen who was only eighteen years old, as well as from the uncertainty of her meaſures, we may judge, that, although the crime was perpetrated by her ſervants, ſhe was not an accomplice in it. At moſt we can only blame her for having perhaps, by the too overt demonſtration of her antipathy to her huſband, emboldened thoſe around her to the commiſſion of a crime with which they thought ſhe muſt certainly be pleaſed. The king of Hungary, to whom Joan diſpatched embaſſadors to juſtify her conduct, did not form ſo good an opinion of her innocence; although his ſiſter-in-law, far from oppoſing any inquiries that could tend to diſcover the guilty perſons, had thrown into priſon thoſe who were ſuſpected, and commenced their trial.

Lewis openly declared that he would avenge his

brother's death, and made preparations to realiſe his threat. Joan, not thinking herſelf ſingly able to withſtand the gathering ſtorm, gave her hand, after a year from Andrew's death, to Lewis prince of Tarentum, her near relative, who was in the prime of youth like herſelf, full of zeal and activity, but not much in favour with the grandees and the barons, who, by their fiefs and the nature of the government, were maſters of the principal force of the kingdom. Thus, when the tempeſt approached, Joan and her huſband, being left almoſt alone and not thinking themſelves capable of reſiſtance, yielded to the tide of circumſtances, and withdrew to Provence.

Lewis, the Hungarian monarch, entered the kingdom as an irritated conqueror. All oppoſition ſhrank before him. He coldly received the grandees who went forth to meet him: he looked with diſdain on the people who proſtrated themſelves at his feet. On his approach to Naples, he diſplayed at the head of his army a black banner, on which was repreſented the tragic death of his brother. He entered the city with his helmet on his head, cauſed capital puniſhment to be inflicted on ſome nobles who were convicted of a connivance at the crime, and condemned the murderers to expire in the midſt of tortures—a juſt exertion of rigour, which Joan had omitted.

Meanwhile ſhe felt great anxiety to clear her character from aſperſion: for which purpoſe ſhe

repaired to Avignon, where the ſacred college then ſat, entreated his holineſs to grant her an audience in a public conſiſtory, and there pleaded her cauſe with eloquence. Young, unfortunate, and beautiful, ſhe found favour before that tribunal of hoary ſeniors. It is ſaid indeed that the circumſtance of her ſelling Avignon and its dependencies to the holy ſee at a very low price contributed not a little to render the ſacred college propitious to her cauſe: but at leaſt it is certain that no proof appeared againſt her. The ſentence which pronounced her innocent made due impreſſion in her kingdom of Naples. Lewis of Hungary had withdrawn, after having levied ſome contributions in the country; and Joan was now recalled by the general wiſh of the people. The pope effected a peace between her and her brother-in-law, who thenceforward ſuffered her quietly to enjoy her kingdom with the huſband whom ſhe had choſen.

Fifteen years which Joan ſpent with the prince of Tarentum whom ſhe had elevated to the throne, were the happieſt portion of her life. Under their government the kingdom flouriſhed, and was able to make attempts for the recovery of Sicily—fruitleſs attempts, it is true, but which at leaſt had the effect of announcing claims and hopes. A widow at the age of thirty-ſix, and without any ſurviving iſſue, Joan united herſelf by a third marriage with the Infant of Majorca, a young prince A D. 1362.

whoſe valour equaled the gracefulneſs of his perſon. He remained not long with her, but went to aſſiſt his father, whoſe iſle was attacked by the king of Arragon. He was taken priſoner: ſhe ranſomed him: he returned to the war: ſhe caſt him off. It is thought that he died there.

Imagining herſelf now weaned from the deſire
A.D. 1370. of marriage, Joan adopted Charles of Durazzo, huſband of Margaret the daughter of her ſiſter Mary, and declared him heir to the ſtates of Naples. But, whether from diſſatisfaction againſt that prince, or returning good opinion of herſelf, and a perſuaſion that at the age of forty-five ſhe might yet ſee herſelf the mother of children, ſhe approached the altar of Hymen a fourth time, and gave her hand to Otho duke of Brunſwick, of the imperial line, and of an age proportioned to her own. To avoid giving umbrage to Charles of Durazzo or her niece whom ſhe had nominated her heirs, ſhe ſubjected her new huſband to the condition of not aſſuming the title of king, but contenting himſelf with that of prince of Tarentum.

Her adoptive ſon, however, could not view with the eye of complacency a marriage which, if it did not ultimately produce direct competitors to rival him, might at leaſt diminiſh the affection of his mother, and the ſhare of authority with which ſhe had flattered his hopes. This was a firſt cauſe of coolneſs toward her: a ſecond was furniſhed by

her laviſh prodigality of favours of every kind to her huſband, her heaping on him immenſe wealth, and ſurrendering her whole power into his hands. The king of Hungary, whoſe boſom rankled with an inveterate grudge againſt Joan, inflamed the jealouſy of Charles. He offered him troops to aid him in obtaining an irrevocable confirmation of thoſe rights of which he was convinced that the queen wiſhed to deprive him. From amicable explanations, as they were termed, the parties proceeded to diſcuſſions of greater aſperity, and at length to arms. Joan had the imprudence to ſuffer herſelf to be ſhut up in the caſtle dell' Uovo. Otho ineffectually attempted to accompliſh her deliverance, and was himſelf made priſoner.

The people of Provence, who had continued faithful to their ſovereign, were ſailing to her aſſiſtance. They arrived too late. She was already in chains. Charles made her the offer of her liberty if ſhe would nominate him heir, not only of Naples, but alſo of her ſtates in Provence. She feigned aſſent, for the purpoſe of obtaining an interview with the captains of her galleys. At this conference ſhe retracted her adoption of Charles, named her kinſman Louis of Anjou to the inheritance of Naples and Provence, and commanded them to acknowledge him. "Depart," ſaid ſhe: "go and place yourſelves under his command. "'Tis thus that you will prove to me your ſenſe "of the kindneſſes which I have ever ſhown to

" you, and of the deplorable ſtate to which I " at preſent ſee myſelf reduced."

At the end of the converſation, Charles enters the apartment. From the countenances of the queen and her ſubjects he divined their intentions, if indeed he had not already diſcovered them by ſecretly liſtening to their diſcourſe. He cauſed Joan to be dragged away, confined in a caſtle, and ſmothered—a mode of death reſembling that of the unfortunate Andrew, and adviſed by the king of Hungary.

Joan furniſhes an example of the ſad conſequences of a firſt fault. After the death of Andrew, which ſhe perhaps wiſhed for without contributing to it, ſhe never was able to regain the eſteem of her ſubjects, the principal bulwark of ſovereignty. Her conduct, while ſhe acted by herſelf, was a ſeries of inconſiſtencies: her frequent marriages have ſtained her character with the imputation of incontinency: and her changes of reſolution with reſpect to Charles of Durazzo lay her open to the charge of fickleneſs. The laſt proof which ſhe gave of that fickle diſpoſition by revoking her adoption of Charles while ſhe was actually his priſoner, merited the cataſtrophe which terminated her days, but does not exculpate that prince from the accuſation of ingratitude.

Charles III and Louis I, A.D. 1382.

That was not the only act of cruelty committed by Charles. He beheaded Joan's ſiſter, Mary, his mother-in-law, to whom of right the crown be-

longed; and he kept Otho in ſevere confinement. Some demands of money which he made upon the nobility inſpired that jealous body with the fear of being ſubject to a rapacious ſovereign. Charles alſo embroiled himſelf with the pope, who had materially helped him to gain poſſeſſion of the crown, but who inſiſted on too great a remuneration for that ſervice. While the new king of Naples was embarraſſed by theſe difficulties, Louis I, duke of Anjou, preſented himſelf on the frontier of the kingdom, to ſupport the rights which he derived from his adoption by Joan. He was ſupported by the pope, who ſeems however to have countenanced him not ſo much for the purpoſe of gaining him the victory, as of obtaining greater advantages from his antagoniſt.

Accordingly, as ſoon as Charles had ceded to Urban the principality of Capua, Caſerta, Nocera, and ſeveral other poſſeſſions, the pontif turned againſt Louis, threatened him with excommunication if he purſued his enterpriſe, and actually did excommunicate him. Regardleſs of the papal thunders, Louis ſtill continued to advance: but death arreſted his courſe in the career of his ſucceſſes, which might have conducted him to the dethronement of his rival. Thus delivered from imminent danger, Charles did not heſitate to commence a new quarrel with Urban: and the latter deemed himſelf extremely fortunate in being able to effect his eſcape from a citadel in which he was

beſieged by Charles, who was equally void of ſcruple and of indulgence.

We have ſeen that Charles was very much attached to Lewis king of Hungary. That prince, having no male iſſue, bequeathed the crown, at his death, to his eldeſt daughter Mary, under the guardianſhip of her mother Iſabel of Bohemia. The Hungarians, diſdaining ſubjection to two females, invited to their throne Charles king of Naples, with whom they were acquainted. However, as he was ſomewhat aſhamed of an open want of gratitude toward his departed friend in dethroning his daughter, he at firſt preſented himſelf only as regent of the kingdom. But his diſſimulation was not of long continuance. He privately concerted a popular commotion, of which the reſult was that the people and the nobles demanded him for their king. It was not himſelf (he ſaid to the two queens) who coveted their dignity: but the whole nation called him to the throne; and it would be dangerous, he added, to oppoſe that general wiſh.

The young princeſs reſolutely declared that ſhe never would relinquiſh a crown which ſhe had inherited of her father. The mother, more prudent, mollified her daughter; and they both went to carry the diadem to the uſurper. He choſe to have it placed on his head in their preſence, for the purpoſe of giving greater authority to his coronation. But lo the inconſtancy of the people!

When the Hungarians ſaw their queens humbled, and compelled to grace with their preſence the triumph of their oppreſſor, a mournful gloom prevailed through the whole aſſembly. To the queſtion, three times repeated according to the uſual form, whether they acknowledged Charles for their king, no anſwer was returned. This, in the firſt inſtance, was a ſtrong ſymptom: but what followed ought to have taught the tyrant to reflect on his danger, and induced him to adopt precautions for his ſafety. He was no-where viewed but with evil eye: every individual fled his preſence: whereas on the contrary a numerous crowd thronged around the queens. In proportion to the baſeneſs with which they had before abandoned them, they now were the more eager to give them teſtimonies of their regret. The ſureſt proof of their repentance would have been to replace them on the throne: but that could not be done without hurling from it the uſurper. After ſome delay, a reſolution was formed to that effect; and Charles of Durazzo—the wretch who had ſtained himſelf with the murder of his benefactreſs Joan and ungratefully oppreſſed the family of his friend—received the ſtroke of death in the apartment of the two queens.

His ſon Ladiſlaus ſucceeded him in the kingdom of Naples, under the tutelage of his mother Margaret. She united him in marriage with an amiable princeſs, Conſtantia of Clermont: but a divorce

Ladiſlaus and Louis II, A.D. 1386.

took place between them for political reaſons. At this time Louis of Anjou returned to Italy to claim the rights which he inherited of his father. The pope who held his ſeat at Rome, gave Ladiſlaus a promiſe of hurling the thunder of pontifical anathema againſt his competitor, on condition that he ſhould take another wife who brought a fine marriage-portion of which the pope expected to receive a ſhare. In quitting Conſtantia, Ladiſlaus, not wiſhing to render her unhappy, had given her in marriage to a young nobleman for whom ſhe was ſuppoſed to feel an inclination. But, though her wiſhes were gratified, Conſtantia did not conceal from the monarch that ſhe retained a lively reſentment of the affront offered to her. In giving her hand to her new huſband, ſhe ſaid to him—"Andrew of Capua! you may deem yourſelf the "moſt fortunate cavalier in the kingdom, ſince "you are to have for your concubine the legiti-"mate wife of king Ladiſlaus your maſter."

Louis of Anjou was ſupported by the pope who ſat at Avignon. Notwithſtanding the efforts of that pontif, he was obliged to abandon his projects againſt the kingdom of Naples: but he remained ſovereign of Provence. Ladiſlaus reigned with glory: he was invited to the crown of Hungary: he did no more than, as it were, try it on his head: but he retained the title, which he tranſmitted to his ſucceſſors. In the conflict which the great ſchiſm excited between the popes, Ladiſlaus three

times rendered himſelf maſter of Rome, ſword in hand. Mars however received leſs of his homage than Venus: and it is not eaſy to point out, on the throne, an inſtance of ſo ſtrong a paſſion for the pleaſures of love, unleſs we quote that of his ſiſter Joan II, who ſucceeded him. His unbridled incontinence ſufficiently accounts for a lingering decay of which he died, without ſeeking its cauſe in a compoſition with which one of his miſtreſſes is ſaid to have rubbed herſelf, in the hope that by means of that philtre ſhe would for-ever attach him to her. It had been furniſhed to her by ſome of the king's enemies who wiſhed to deſtroy him: and that poiſoned ſpecific poured death into the prince's veins in the moment of pleaſure.

Were we to except the ſingle circumſtance of rank, the life of Joan II might be conſidered as that of a vile courteſan. She mounted the throne a widow, but not without having an acknowledged favourite, Pandolfo her high-chamberlain, to whom ſhe alſo added another leſs public, named Sforza. The two rivals quarreled, but came to an accommodation, thinking it better not to injure each other for the ſake of thoſe favours which they might enjoy in common. Joan, however, was not the leſs deſirous of marriage, which ſhe deemed neceſſary to the ſupport of her authority. She became the wife of James count of la Marche, of the royal blood of France, and ſtill retained her galants. The huſband found means to rid himſelf

Joan II and James de Bourbon, A.D. 1414.

of them, and caused his wife's conduct to be watched by an old French squire who never quitted her. To take advantage of this kind of interdict laid on the queen, and to render himself absolute master, it would have been necessary for James to gain over the Neapolitans, whose contempt of Joan did not proceed to the length of hatred. But he was so injudicious as to alienate the Italians by lavishing all his favours on the French. Interest awaked indulgence in the hearts of the subjects: they rescued their queen from the state of restraint in which she was kept; and she in her turn, by the assistance of a new favourite named Sergiani, a man of very masculine beauty, whom she appointed her grand-seneschal, put her husband into confinement. James obtained his liberty, only on condition of his returning to France. He departed, and never saw her more.

The entire sequel of that princess's life presents an assemblage of inconsistencies, irregularities, caprices, which would not deserve to be recorded, if they had not influenced the fate of the kingdom. A favourite, whom she had chosen to supply the place of Sergiani who was absent on a distant mission, invited Louis of Anjou, grandson of the antagonist of Charles of Durazzo. His intention was to procure for himself a support against Sergiani who was now coming back. The latter, after his return, resumed an ascendency of which

his abſence had taught the queen the full value. He adviſed her to ſet up Alfonſo king of Arragon and Sicily, in oppoſition to Louis.

She adopted Alfonſo, then reſcinded the adoption, becauſe the adopted prince endeavoured to enlarge his authority beyond the bounds that Joan wiſhed to preſcribe to it. He quitted her, and returned to Sicily, whence ſhe had invited him. Attacked by Louis of Anjou, ſhe diſarmed him by means of adoption, her uſual weapon: but quarreling with him, and being involved in new embarraſſments by her own miſconduct, ſhe renewed the adoption of Alfonſo, returned again to Louis, and at length died, preceded in death by Sergiani, againſt whom ſhe had conceived a diſguſt, and who was killed as ſoon as the news of his diſgrace became public. Alfonſo I, A.D. 1415.

Louis III, conſidering the queen's adoption as a ſure title, and dying before her, had bequeathed his right to his brother René of Anjou. By her will, Joan confirmed that deviſe: and at her death the crown was claimed by three competitors—this René, Alfonſo, and (will it be believed?) pope Eugenius IV, who maintained, that, by virtue of the treaty concluded with Charles of Durazzo, the kingdom of Naples, in conſequence of the extinction of that prince's poſterity, belonged to the holy ſee. The barons paid no regard to a right extorted by neceſſity, but ſeverally took part with either Alfonſo or René. By an effect of the wars René of Anjou, A.D. 1435. Alfonſo I, A.D. 1443.

which the great vaſſals of the crown were at this time waging againſt each other in France, René was a priſoner in the hands of the duke of Burgundy at the moment when the greater number of the Neapolitan nobles repaired to that country to offer him their crown. His wife Iſabella immediately embarked, and went to ſupport her huſband's right. But the time which elapſed during the negotiations for René's liberty afforded to Alfonſo the means of ſtrengthening his party. The Arragoneſe rendered himſelf maſter of Naples and the greater part of the kingdom: nor was he far diſtant from making Anjou a priſoner. Yielding to the current of misfortunes, René returned to France, and carried into Provence his mildneſs, his goodneſs, his taſte for literature, and his other amiable qualities, of which the Provençals enjoyed the advantage, and which they long celebrated by preſerving in their ſongs the memory of the virtues of "good king René."

Under the reign of Alfonſo, Sicily was re-united with Naples, from which it had been above a hundred and ſixty years ſeparated. We have already ſeen how Peter of Arragon—blending the claims of his wife Conſtantia daughter of Manfredi with thoſe of Conradin who had been ſacrificed by the ſavage Charles of Durazzo—had entered Sicily in 1282, marching over the dead bodies of the French who had fallen victims at the time of the Sicilian veſpers. He maintained himſelf both

againſt Charles and againſt the forces of France which had been called in to his aid. He was ſucceeded by his ſon James, who, by one of thoſe political arrangements in which the popes uſually took an active part, had replaced Sicily under the yoke of Naples. But the Sicilian nobles, dreading its weight, made in 1296 an offer of their crown to James's brother, Frederic II, who accepted it. He had to combat not only the king of Naples, but alſo his own brother James of Arragon, who took up arms to defend the ceſſion which he had made.

Forty years of war between theſe princes—family wars, like lawſuits between near relatives—admitted of occaſional treaties of peace, founded rather on the circumſtances of the moment than on the principles of juſtice. Accordingly they were ill executed. By one of them, which is the moſt celebrated, Frederic was allowed to aſſume the appellation of king of Trinacria *, and to poſſeſs Sicily under that title until the Neapolitan monarch ſhould be able to procure for him Sardinia, the kingdom of Cyprus, and ſome other ſtates. Frederic was then to quit Sicily, which, in any event, could never become the property of his children. Contrary, however, to the expreſs tenor of the treaty, he bequeathed it in 1337 to his ſon Peter, a prince of weak and narrow intellect. Two inſolent favourites, called the Palici, took advantage of his weakneſs to remove from about his perſon

* An ancient claſſical name of Sicily.

all thoſe who were likely to give him good counſels. But that ſame weakneſs afterward proved very fatal to them, when they ſtood in need of the king's protection to reſcue them from the fury of the people whom they had incenſed by their arrogance. They were abandoned by the king, but ſaved by John, the king's brother, whom they had endeavoured to deſtroy. He aſſumed the guardianſhip of his nephew Lewis, who ſucceeded his father in 1342.

What remains to be ſaid concerning the Arragoneſe ſovereigns of Sicily, is little more than a brief chronicle. Lewis, a child, is acknowledged king. Affairs proceed in a proſperous train during the life of John. After his death, good order is ſucceeded by univerſal anarchy. So great embarraſſment attends the choice of a guardian in the room of the deceaſed, that the office is conferred on one of his ſiſters, an abbeſs; and the reins of government are intruſted to her hand. After the firſt enthuſiaſm of eſteem which had cauſed the religious dame to be called forth from her retirement, ſhe became an object of ridicule: ſhe returned to her convent, and was again taken from it in 1355, and nominated to the guardianſhip of Frederic, ſucceſſor to his brother Lewis who had died without iſſue at the age of ſeventeen. Frederic, after a tempeſtuous reign during which the regal majeſty ſuffered degradation, died in 1377, leaving only a daughter named Mary.

Thoſe who felt an intereſt in her welfare thought proper to tranſport her to Spain, with the view of reſcuing her from the dangers by which ſhe was threatened in her own iſland teeming with cabals and factions. She there became the wife of Martin prince of Arragon, and returned with her huſband to Sicily, where they both died after a ſhort reign. The king of Arragon inherited Sicily after his ſon Martin in 1409, but wore the crown no longer than a year. On his death it paſſed to Ferdinand of Caſtile, his nephew and heir, and afterward to his eldeſt ſon Alfonſo, who, in conſequence of his adoption by Joan II, was already king of Naples.

Thus had the ſcythe of death, by mowing down numerous heads, cleared away all competitors, and left only a ſingle head remaining, on which was placed the crown of both kingdoms. Few princes have been ſo worthy to wear it as Alfonſo I, ſurnamed the Magnanimous. To diſtinguiſhed valour he joined a fund of humanity capable of immortaliſing his memory. His habitual wiſh was to render all mankind happy—a wiſh which he laboured to realiſe by giving with a good grace, and never refuſing without pain and ſympathy. Never did he paſs a day unmarked by ſome good action. This prince loved the ſciences, and, by neceſſary conſequence, protected learned men. He is reproached with his paſſion for Lucretia d'Alagno, whoſe ambition was equal to her beauty: but we ought to recollect that his love, ardent as it was,

could not prevail on him to repudiate the queen, though he felt ſomething worſe than indifference for her. Lucretia pretended, that, not being able to ſucceed in marrying her lover, ſhe had invariably acted toward him the part of that famous Roman matron whoſe name ſhe bore. By another miſtreſs Alfonſo had a ſon named Ferdinand, whom he cauſed to be brought up under his own eye, and on whom he conferred the rights of legitimacy, together with a nomination as heir to the crown to Naples.

John of Anjou, and Ferdinand I, A.D. 1458.

This prince ſuſtained with valour and firmneſs the aſſaults made againſt his throne by René and John of Anjou, who undertook by force of arms to revive and aſſert the claims of their family. Their firſt ſucceſſes gave uneaſineſs to Frederic: but he ſoon gained the ſuperiority, put his competitors to flight, and cruſhed the Anjou party. He did not enjoy the kingdom of Sicily; Alfonſo having left the government of it to his brother John, who extended his mortal career to the age of eighty years, and died in 1479.

During that time Ferdinand II ſuffered the greater ſhare of his authority at Naples to be exerciſed by his ſon Alfonſo II notwithſtanding his numerous vices. At theſe the father connived; nor was he himſelf exempt from them. Their irregularities provoked a conſpiracy: but the conſpirators, uniting juſtice with their hatred of the vices of thoſe who occupied the throne, did not

think it proper to extend the puniſhment to the entire family. They made a tender of the crown to Ferdinand's ſecond ſon Frederic, a prince remarked for moderation, affability, and regularity of conduct. He indignantly rejected their offer, as conveying an inſult in the ſuppoſition that he was capable of a breach of the allegiance due to his father and brother. This refuſal exaſperated the minds of the party: the mal-contents took up arms; but they laid them down at the entreaty of Ferdinand, who flattered them and made them fine promiſes, of which, however, when he had gained the ſuperiority, he did not perform any one, but condemned the conſpirators to expiate their crime by cruel deaths.—At this period Sicily was governed by a vice-roy, ſubject to Ferdinand II king of Caſtile.

Alfonſo did not ſhow greater moderation or greater circumſpection in his irregularities when ſeated on the throne, than he had diſplayed while he only ſtood on the ſteps leading to it. He was, however, deeply intereſted in regaining the eſteem of his ſubjects, becauſe the horizon began to lour around him, and he was threatened with a furious tempeſt from the quarter of France. The good king René of Anjou, bequeathing his rights at his death to the count of Maine his nephew, had, by a ſucceſſion of family arrangements, cauſed them to devolve on Louis XI. That monarch indeed was not ſolicitous to aſſert them. But his ſon

Alfonſo II, A.D. 1404.

Charles VIII did not feel ſimilar indifference. Young and avid of glory, he croſſed the Alps, proudly diſplayed in Rome his victorious banners, and carried them forward to the walls of Naples.

Vice is generally deſtitute of courage. Though Alfonſo was not yet deprived of every reſource, yet, as ſoon as he beheld the enemy ſo near, he abdicated the government in favour of his ſon Ferdinand. The ſon ſuffered the puniſhment due to his father's faults, and experienced nought from his ſubjects but coldneſs and indifference. The diſorders, however, committed by the French in their conqueſt, Charles's departure for France, and his ſubſequent death, reſtored ſome energy to Ferdinand's party. But that prince died at the time when he was beginning to entertain well-founded hopes, and left the crown to his uncle Frederic, the ſame whom the mal-contents has formerly attempted to place on the throne, to the detriment of his father and brother.

His refuſal had excited a diſadvantageous idea of him, and inſpired his ſubjects with a contempt which he found it impoſſible to conquer. Their affections were divided between the kings of France and Spain, Louis XII and Ferdinand of Arragon. Theſe monarchs traced back their claims to the variations of Joan II who had ſucceſſively adopted the houſes of Anjou and Arragon; and they both aſſerted that Frederic, ſprung from Ferdinand an illegitimate ſon of Alfonſo, had no right to his

kingdoms. The unfortunate Frederic, almoſt totally abandoned, threw himſelf into the arms of Louis XII, as the more generous of his two competitors. Louis granted to him, as likewiſe to his wife and children, a ſatisfactory proviſion in France, if any thing could ſatisfy and conſole for the loſs of a crown.

The French and Spaniſh monarchs divided his ſtates between them in 1505. Ferdinand, the moſt crafty prince of his age, and the leaſt worthy of confidence, though ſurnamed the Catholic, pretended, that, in this diviſion, he had given to Louis a portion much better than his own, and, as a compenſation, required that Louis ſhould allow him the cuſtody of the widow and two ſons of Frederic who had lately died. Louis, with inexcuſable weakneſs, exhorted the widow to paſs over into Spain, threatening, purſuant to his agreement with Ferdinand, that he would give her nothing for her ſupport if ſhe refuſed to comply. That princeſs did not think it ſafe to intruſt her ſons to the politic Ferdinand, who had too great an intereſt in removing them from ſight. She retired to Ferrara, where ſhe lived in poverty and wretchedneſs.

By the treaty between the two kings, the Neapolitans and Sicilians were parceled out as ſheep in a paddock: but the ſhepherds (if we may continue the compariſon) frequently ſhifted and tranſpoſed the hurdles—that is to ſay, the limits which

bounded their reſpective dominions. After ſucceſſive changes, Ferdinand ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of the better part. For this good fortune he was principally indebted to Gonſalvo ſurnamed the "great captain," whom his unwarlike maſter had ſent not only to defend his own poſſeſſions againſt the French, but alſo to encroach upon theirs: and in theſe attempts he ſucceeded ſo well, that, even before the death of Louis XII, their ſhare in the kingdom was reduced to almoſt nothing, and Ferdinand, with hardly any oppoſition, aſſumed the title of king of Naples and Sicily.

He and his ſucceſſors governed thoſe kingdoms by the miniſtry of vice-roys uſually choſen from the higheſt claſs of nobility in Spain. Great ſkill and talents were requiſite to qualify them for governing ſtates ſo detached from each other. The Neapolitan and Sicilian nobleſſe, equal to the vice-roys in rank and riches and pride, were always diſpoſed to meaſure the extent of their obedience, and to take fire at any orders which they conſidered as invaſive of or derogatory to their privileges, or as expreſſed without that attention which they thought due to their dignity. In almoſt all the towns, were municipal bodies veſted with a certain authority: ſome of them enjoyed the honours of a ſenate. The people, a mixture of French and Italians and Spaniards and Germans who had ſo long inundated this unfortunate country, were not acquainted with any principle

of fraternity. Being the offspring of ſoldiers, they retained their fathers' propenſity to idleneſs and rapine: hence revolts were frequent, ſpread with rapidity, and broke forth in exceſſes which force and capital puniſhments were alone capable of quelling. The emperor Charles V governed the Neapolitans and Sicilians with a firmneſs which might be called ſtubborn; for he yielded nothing to the wiſhes of the people and the grandees: he ſupported vice-roys who were acknowledged to be harſh, greedy, and even licentious. His refuſal to recall them was productive of ſedition which he ſeverely puniſhed. Nevertheleſs, with all the plenitude of his abſolute power, he was unable to eſtabliſh the inquiſition; for, on his bare attempt, the people roſe in ſo furious inſurrection, that he was compelled to withdraw his edict; nor did he otherwiſe appeaſe the tumult than by ſending an apologetic letter, addreſſed "To the moſt "faithful people of Naples."

The Spaniſh monarchs who bore the ſceptre of Naples having only ſhown it to their ſubjects from a diſtance, it is the province of hiſtory to beſtow more attention on the repreſentatives than on the ſovereigns repreſented. It will be ſufficient to indicate the former. Under Philip II the duke of Alva was elevated to the dignity of vice-roy at a critical moment, when Paul IV was labouring to put Naples into the hands of the French. The duke preſerved that kingdom for Spain, and was

Philip II, A.D. 1555.

honoured with the title of " deliverer of the coun-" try."—Prudence, vigilance, moderation, were the characteriſtic features of the government of his ſucceſſor the duke of Alcala: to which praiſes we muſt add that he protected commerce, and conſtructed high-roads, bridges, and other works of magnificence and neceſſity.—Granvelle, though a cardinal, did not always approve what the court of Rome called her rights, and courageouſly combated againſt her in favour of the royal authority of which he was the depoſitary.—The marquis de Montejor performed good actions, but in ſuch manner as to excite no gratitude: the people granted him their eſteem, but not their love.—Of John de Zunica this humane *trait* is recorded, that he eſtabliſhed infirmaries in the priſons.

After him, the vice-royalty, which had antecedently been conferred for an indefinite term, was limited to three years. The *bons-mots* of the duke d'Oſſuna are yet in the mouths of the people of Naples, who found in him an incorruptible protector. The nobles did not love him. No man ever expedited buſineſs with greater promptitude and ſagacity and diſcernment than he.—Rigid enforcer of juſtice, the count de Miranda freed the kingdom from the infeſtations of robbers.—To the count d'Olivarez the Spaniards gave the name of the " paper-monger," becauſe he was ever ſurrounded with letters and memorials, which he inceſſantly examined. Auſtere of character, he ſup-

preſſed the *fêtes* and amuſements with which his predeceſſors had been wont to gratify the people: but he granted audience at all hours.—Don Garcias of Toledo went to the aſſiſtance of Malta: by the expreſs order of Philip he went too late, yet was puniſhed for his tardineſs by him who had commanded it: but the world were not deceived by that artifice; nor did it ſcreen the monarch from the diſgrace of the delay.—To the marquis de Piſcara, Palermo ſtands indebted for an academy of the *belles lettres*.

Philip III. A. D. 1598

Don Ferdinand Ruis, count de Lemos, diſſipated, under the reign of Philip III, a dangerous conſpiracy concerted in the year 1600 by Thomas Campanella, a Dominican friar. He profeſſed himſelf an aſtrologer, and in the firſt inſtance ſeduced his brethren, who diſſeminated in their ſermons the principles of inſubordination. The people and the nobles were univerſally diſſatisfied with the exceſſive weight of the taxes. Campanella collected eighteen hundred banditi, who were to have been ſupported by a Turkiſh pacha commanding ſeveral galleys crowded with troops. When the conſpiracy was diſcovered, Campanella had the art to paſs himſelf for a madman, and was only condemned to priſon, from which he made his eſcape. The count de Lemos gave luſtre to the univerſity of Naples: he erected for it magnificent buildings, and regulated every thing in it after ſuch manner as was moſt condu-

cive to the advancement of the ſciences. The ſecond duke of Oſſuna employed himſelf at Naples in forging chains for the enſlavement of Venice. His conſpiracy proving unſucceſsful, he was diſavowed by his royal maſter, but not puniſhed.

Under the ſecond duke of Alva and the duke of Alcala, the kingdoms which they governed as vice-roys of Philip IV were ravaged by earthquakes, and alſo by the levying of taxes—plagues of royalty, not leſs terrible than thoſe of nature.—The count de Monterey, and his ſucceſſors don Ramirez and Alfonſo Henriquez, were inceſſantly buſied in adjuſting the balance between the conſtant demands of the Spaniſh court and the faculties of the ſubjects who were called upon for contribution. The duke d'Arcos, who ſucceeded them in 1647, not leſs embarraſſed to ſatisfy the avidity of the Spaniſh treaſury, impoſed a tax on vegetables and fruits, the principal ſuſtenance of the commonalty at Naples. They murmured: the magiſtrates aſſembled in the vice-roy's palace; where while deliberation was held on the means of removing that impoſition and ſubſtituting another in its ſtead, the populace roſe in rebellion, and from the loweſt claſs choſe for themſelves a chief named Thomas Aniello *. Mounted on a ſcaffold as on a throne, brandiſhing a ſword in lieu

Philip IV, A.D. 1621.

* By a familiar contraction, *Maſ Aniello*, and thence, by corruption, *Maſaniello*.

of a ſceptre, and ſurrounded by fifty thouſand men, Aniello ſends from the market-place detachments of his aſſociates through the ſtreets to levy contributions and to pillage. He cauſes his demands to be conveyed to the vice-roy, who conſents to them in their fulleſt extent: but, inflated with his ſucceſs, he aſſumes redoubled arrogance, till, by his haughty inſolence and his caprice, he rendered himſelf obnoxious even to thoſe who had elected him. The populace are never embarraſſed in their means of acting: Aniello diſpleaſed them, and they murdered him. His head was fixed on a pole: the people ſeemed to delight in feeding their eyes with that ſpectacle; and on the very next day they beſtowed on his remains a magnificent funeral.

The mutineers meanwhile ſhowed no ſymptoms of returning tranquillity: they demanded of the vice-roy a ſurrendry of the caſtles, and, on his refuſal, prepared to beſiege them. The prince of Maſſa offered to direct their operations: but he was ſecretly in concert with the vice-roy, and, under various pretences, ſuſpended the attack. His private underſtanding being ſuſpected, he was aſſaſſinated; and in his ſtead was choſen Januarius Anneſe, a perſon of mean origin, brought up in the profeſſion of arms, and noted as a man of dexterity and daring boldneſs. The king of Spain, being informed of theſe commotions, ſends over a body of troops under the command of don Juan

of Auſtria his ſon. They render themſelves maſters of the principal poſts, and cauſe their artillery to thunder againſt the city. Already terror was beginning to invade the breaſts of the inſurgents, when, perceiving that their aſſailants were deſtitute of powder, they reſumed courage, pulled down the king's banners, trampled under foot his portraits, pillaged the houſes of thoſe whom they thought attached to his government, and iſſued two proclamations, the one aboliſhing the duty upon ſalt, the other forbidding the barons and titled nobles to aſſemble in numbers, and ſetting a price on ſome heads.

At this conjuncture, Henry duke of Guiſe, whom nature ſeemed to have formed for adventures, happening to be at Rome, imagined that he might avail himſelf of ſuch a critical ſtate of affairs to gain the crown of the Two Sicilies, to which he thought himſelf entitled as deſcendent of the houſe of Anjou. He ſends a meſſage to Anneſe, gives him to underſtand that he cannot ſupport his undertaking without foreign aid, and promiſes him that of France, as being ſure that he could procure it. His offer is accepted: Guiſe enters Naples like a doughty knight, wafted in a boat through the midſt of the Spaniſh fleet: but he conducts himſelf in the city with greater preſumption than prudence: he aſſumes the title of duke of Naples, as forerunner to that of king, to which he intimates his pretenſions: he appears

with ſplendid pomp at the public ceremonies, eclipſes Anneſe, excites his jealouſy, and quarrels with him. The French arrive, but not in concert with Guiſe: a miſunderſtanding ariſes between the auxiliaries and the rebels, whom unanimity alone could have ſaved. The French retire without hardly attempting any thing: Anneſe makes his peace, and delivers up the caſtles. Guiſe, abandoned by the people and the nobles who were now weary of theſe diſturbances, endeavours to make his eſcape, but is ſeiſed, and atones for his audacity by ſeveral years of impriſonment. The ſequel was ſuch as uſually takes place on ſimilar occaſions—pardon was promiſed, and puniſhment was inflicted—faith was pledged, and that faith was violated as ſoon as opportunity permitted.

One would imagine that Naples and Sicily vied with each other in rebellion. As ſoon as the flame had been extinguiſhed in the former, it broke out in the latter. The revolts were of an intermittent nature, like the eruptions of the two volcanoes, Veſuvius and Ætna, which ſhake thoſe reſpective countries, and inundate them with torrents of fire. Under Charles II in 1672 the people of Meſſina revolted, being driven into ſedition by the wicked artifice of their governor. Feeling himſelf reſtricted in his financial operations by the ſenate, he conceived the deſign of effecting the deſtruction of that aſſembly by means of the people, whom he

Charles II. A.D. 1664.

hoped to rule afterward at his own pleaſure. To accompliſh that object, he creates a famine at Meſſina, and imputes it to the ſenators. In the firſt ebullitions of popular reſentment, a conſiderable number of them are maſſacred: but the people ſoon open their eyes, and diſcover the treachery of their governor.

Indignant to have been betrayed into ſo cruel an error, the Meſſineſe made a tender of their allegiance to Louis XIV. He accepted the offer, "not," ſaid the monarch, "for the ſake of acquiring new ſubjects, but through compaſſion, and purely with the diſintereſted view of aiding them to ſhake off the deteſted yoke of the Spaniards. He did not, however, renounce the pleaſure of adding to that ſervice the further benefit of gratifying them with a new ſovereign, who, deriving his origin from their ancient kings, would aſſume their manners and cuſtoms, and would replace among them a throne which their anceſtors had with grief ſeen tranſported to Arragon and Caſtile." Louis did not name the ſaviour whom he deſtined for them: but we have reaſon to believe that it was Philip, ſecond ſon of the great dauphin—that prince who by a fortunate concurrence of events afterward became maſter of Spain, and conſequently poſſeſſor of the crowns of Naples and Sicily which his grandfather had wiſhed to procure for him.

His title, however, was not eſtabliſhed without oppoſition. The houſe of Auſtria, while it contended with that of Bourbon for the crown of Spain, envied to it alſo the ſceptre of Naples and Sicily; and it found partiſans. A conſpiracy put Naples into the hands of Charles II, ſon of the emperor Leopold, Philip's competitor. By the conditions of the general peace, Naples fell to the ſhare of Philip: but Sicily was detached from it, and given to the duke of Savoy. Conſiderations of political intereſt induced that monarch to give a preference to the crown of Sardinia: wherefore he ceded Sicily in 1719, to the emperor Charles VI who had ſeiſed on Naples. He reigned over it until the year 1734, when Don Carlos, being veſted with the rights of his father who was yet living, conquered thoſe two kingdoms, and fixed his ſeat among his ſubjects.

Philip V, A.D. 1700.

Charles VI, A.D. 1719.

Don Carlos, A.D. 1734.

During the courſe of two preceding centuries, the ſovereigns reſiding at a diſtance had drained theſe kingdoms of men and money. The preſence of a mild and œconomic king now reſtored proſperity and happineſs. By uſeful reforms he gave new vigor to manufactures, revived the commerce to the Levant which was nearly extinct, eſtabliſhed a ſtrict police, and introduced into the juridical and financial departments an order and regularity before unknown. By the aid of thoſe wiſe inſtitutions, Don Carlos changed the face of his king-

dom, and, in 1759, left it in a flouriſhing condition to his ſon Ferdinand IV, when, on the death of his brother Charles VI, he went to take poſſeſſion of the crown of Spain.

Ferdinand IV, A.D. 1759.

SWITZERLAND.

Helvetia or, Switzerland, between Franche-Comté, Germany, the ſtates of Venice, and Savoy.

Helvetia, a country of mountains and lakes, ſeems to have been firſt peopled by emigrants from Gaul and Germany, who, proceeding along the banks of the Rhone and the Rhine, aſcended to the lofty reſervoirs whence theſe and other rivers take their riſe. Some induſtrious literati have, in their learned diſquiſitions, aſſigned a Grecian origin to the indigenous inhabitants whom they ſuppoſe to have exiſted antecedently to thoſe Gallic and German colonies: and they ground their opinion on theſe circumſtances—that Greek inſcriptions have been found in the ruins of their ancient towns, and that ſeveral words in the old Helvetic language wear a feature of affinity to the Greek. But it is extremely poſſible that theſe fragments of a foreign language may have been tranſported to thoſe ſavage mountains by perſons from Marſeilles or the Adriatic gulf: in which caſe we ſhould conſider the Helvetians, not as immediate deſcendents of the Greeks, but as a branch of the primitive Gauliſh or German nation on which ſome ſcions of Grecian origin had been grafted. Whatever may be the judgement formed of thoſe obſcure be-

ginnings, the Helvetii counted a numerous population at the period when the Romans firſt penetrated into Gaul.

Their firſt irruption of which we have any diſtinct knowledge is related by Julius Cæſar, who ſupported its ſhock. Diſguſted with the ruggedneſs of their rocks and the ſterility of their country, ſeveral tribes united together with the intention of going to ſeek ſettlements in Gaul, whoſe fertility tempted them. They deſtroyed their towns, their villages, the houſes ſcattered over the country, killed all the cattle which they could not take away with them, loaded themſelves with corn and every ſpecies of proviſion, and marched forth to the number of three hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand, among whom were ninety-two thouſand combatants. Appriſed of their motions, Cæſar awaited their approach, ſtrongly intrenched at the outlet of the defile through which their route lay. Their attack was violent: the Roman legions were ſhaken; but at length they made an impreſſion on that formidable maſs, ſeparated it, and purſued their diſcomfited columns. After having compelled them to make humble ſolicitation for peace, the victor laid open to them the road to their native land, to which a hundred and ten thouſand of their number returned. The country whence they had iſſued, which conſtituted only a part of Helvetia, has been denominated Celtic Gaul.

The portrait of the ancient Helvetii, as drawn

by the pencil of hiſtory, bears a pretty ſtrong reſemblance to that of the modern Switzers. They were, as we are informed, of tall ſtature, robuſt, laborious, honeſt, attached to their ancient cuſtoms, decent in their ſimplicity, prudent, chaſte in their matrimonial connexions, far from temperate in their convivial meetings, and ſtrongly addicted to conviviality. They knew no other riches than the produce of their flocks and their lands. Though otherwiſe cold and phlegmatic, their iraſcibility was eaſily irritated. Above all other bleſſings on earth, they prized the enjoyment of liberty: yet they readily quitted their own country where it reigned, whenever invited by any proſpect of advantage to be reaped in more favoured lands: but the love of their native ſoil was never extinguiſhed in their boſoms. No nation has ever been more diſtinguiſhed for martial proweſs: in war they found a ſubſtitute for commerce and induſtry.

From the earlieſt period at which we find the Switzers mentioned in hiſtory, we obſerve them divided into cantons, over which preſided juſticiary chiefs under various titles according to times and circumſtances. Thoſe chiefs were ſubordinate to the general aſſembly of the nation, which was the real ſovereign. Whoever dared to offer any violation to their darling idol liberty, was condemned to death without remiſſion, as guilty of unpardonable ſacrilege. But, while they ſtood guarded againſt every attempt of their concitizens to en-

ſnare them, they were not equally circumſpect or equally powerful to oppoſe the hoſtile enterpriſes of the neighbouring princes. The kings of France, of the firſt and ſecond race, placed governors over them: the firſt emperors of Germany alſo exerciſed the ſame ſupremacy. Theſe governors, called dukes or counts or marquiſes, became hereditary when the empire of Germany became elective—a neceſſary conſequence, becauſe, in proportion as the ſuperior power grows weak, the inferiors acquire additional ſtrength.

That form of government conferred great authority on the nobleſſe. In the year 1024, no fewer than fifty families were reckoned in Switzerland who were decorated with the title of count, beſide a hundred and fifty barons, and a thouſand knights. A hoſt of independent ambitious and oppreſſive noblemen ſhared with the clergy all the rural wealth of the country, inſomuch that the commonalty hardly retained any thing except ſome ſmall poſſeſſions in the towns.

In this ſtate of things, by ſhowing his ſympathy for the wretchedneſs of the oppreſſed multitude, it was not difficult for an ambitious individual to attach them to him, and make them the inſtruments in promoting his own views. We can hardly doubt that ſuch was the ſyſtem of policy purſued by Rodolph count of Hapſburg, lord of a caſtle and ſome adjacent lands in upper Germany. He rendered himſelf conſpicuous at the concluſion of

the tenth century by his courage, his capacity for buſineſs, and his conciliatory ſpirit.

Among the plebeians had been eſtabliſhed *comburgheries*—among the nobility, *confraternities*. The exiſtence of theſe two rival confederations proves that Switzerland contained at that time a leaven ready to ferment. The emperors were the reputed ſovereigns of the country: but their authority was little reſpected by a proud intractable nobleſſe. They therefore favoured the comburgheries, and opened to them an aſylum in certain cities to which they gave the appellation of imperial, and which they endowed with peculiar privileges. There commerce and induſtry flouriſhed. But, as the nominal ſovereigns did not, in appointing governors, provide them with a ſufficient number of troops to oppoſe acts of oppreſſion—the confraternities, regardleſs of the imperial reſcripts, practiſed every kind of robbery upon their vaſſals, plundering and uſurping with impunity whatever poſſeſſions pleaſed their fancy. In this melancholy ſituation, the Switzers were ready to throw themſelves into the arms of whoever was willing and able to protect them. On ſome occaſions, the cantons of Uri, Unterwalden, and Schweitz, had received aſſiſtance from Rodolph in oppoſition to the nobles. Captivated by his juſtice and popular manners, they choſe him for their chief in 1277. Almoſt at the ſame time he was elected emperor of Germany, and was thencefor-

ward enabled to extend to all Switzerland his views which before had been confined to the above-mentioned cantons. From one of the three, the name of Schweitz, or Switzerland, became the general appellation of the whole country.

If we form a judgement of Rodolph's intentions from thoſe of his ſon Albert who alſo poſſeſſed the imperial crown, we muſt think, that, under the cloak of popularity, the father harboured againſt the Switzers' liberty thoſe deſigns which the ſon attempted to realiſe by force. Albert—the founder of the houſe of Auſtria, and the framer of that ſyſtem of ambition which he tranſmitted to his poſterity—demanded of the cantons which had proclaimed Rodolph their chief, that they ſhould acknowledge themſelves his vaſſals. To the agents whom he had ſent to them, the Switzers anſwered, pointing to a roll of diplomata and charters—"Theſe are our wealth, the ſacred patrimony "which we inherit from our fathers, the inaliena-"ble depoſit tranſmitted to us by our anceſtors, "of which we are to render an account to our "children, and they to ſucceeding generations. "Theſe decrees, theſe diplomata, guaranty and "confirm our privileges and our liberty. We "are neither ſlaves nor ſubjects of any particular "prince: we are citizens of the empire, and "members of that auguſt body which recogniſes "the emperor its head. It is to that head we "are united. Homage paid to any other would

" in us be baſeneſs. We ſhould deſpiſe ourſelves, " if, through fear or weakneſs, we were ſuffici- " ently mean to renounce thoſe prerogatives which " are as dear to us as our honour, and dearer than " life."

This high-minded and courageous anſwer inflamed Albert with rage. As emperor, he had a right to ſend judges to the cantons, under the name of *bailiffs*. Antecedently thoſe employments had ever been conferred on counts of the empire equally diſtinguiſhed by their probity as by their birth. Albert, on the contrary, made choice of three nobles who were noted for depravity of every kind, infamous by the corruption of their morals, deſtitute of honour, and overwhelmed with debts. Their names were Landenberg, Greſler, and Wolfenſchieſſe. He ſeverally aſſigned to them their reſidence in very ſtrong caſtles provided with numerous garriſons, ſituate in the reſpective cantons which they were directed to ſubdue and bend by all poſſible means to the will of the ambitious Albert.

Let the reader figure to himſelf the exceſſes to which three authoriſed villains are capable of proceeding—acts of pillage, of oppreſſion, attempts on the liberty of the men and the honour of the women—ſtill he will have but a faint idea of the horrors which blacken the Helvetic annals of that period. Two atrocious deeds, which produced the firſt revolutionary concuſſion, will alone be ſuf-

ficient to aid him in forming a judgement of the reſt.

Henry Meltchal, a reſpectable ſenior, was tilling his field, when one of Landenberg's ſatellites came to take away his oxen. The old man complained. "A peaſant like you," replied the ruffian, "is fit for nothing better than drawing his "own plough." The farmer's ſon, a witneſs of the violence offered to his father, ruſhes on the inſolent agent of tyranny, ſtrikes him, puts him to flight, and makes his eſcape. The bailiff cauſes Meltchal to be dragged to his fortreſs, and threatens to have his eyes torn out if he does not tell where his ſon is concealed. The old man was ignorant of the place of his retreat: but, even if he had known it, he would no doubt have refuſed to make the diſcovery. Exaſperated by his ſilence, the tyrant orders his eyes to be plucked out. The ſon, who had taken ſhelter in the houſe of a friend named Furſt, receives information of the barbarous deed, is wounded to the ſoul by the horrid recital, and concerts with his friend the means of vengeance.

Furſt loved his country. While theſe two afflicted patriots were ſighing — the one over the public calamities, the other over his domeſtic diſaſters—they were joined by a third, whoſe paternal affection had recently been put to the rudeſt proof. The ſavage Greſler, one of thoſe wretches who are not content with the exerciſe of authority unleſs

they ſtretch it beyond the utmoſt bounds of endurance, had ſet up his hat on the ſummit of a pole in the market-place at Altdorf, and ordained that every perſon paſſing by ſhould bend the knee before it in ſalutation. William Tell, a man of lofty intrepid ſoul, indignant of ſuch a command, paſſed and repaſſed by the hat without any token of obeiſance. Greſler ordered him to be brought into his preſence, and aſked why he dared to diſobey his injunction. "Becauſe I am a freeman," replied Tell; "becauſe your commands are only "fit for ſlaves, and your ordinances are the ordi- "nances of a tyrant."—"Let his ſon be brought "hither," added the bailiff.—He placed the boy at a conſiderable diſtance, and ordered Tell, who was eſteemed the beſt archer in the country, to ſtrike down an apple laid on the child's head.

At this injunction, the lofty ſpirit of the Helvetian inſtantly forſook him: he fell on his knees at Greſler's feet, humbly entreating to be excuſed from that dreadful experiment. The inexorable bailiff threatens, unleſs he inſtantly obey, to put him and his ſon to a cruel death. The mournful father takes two arrows, conceals one under his coat, applies the other to the ſtring, diſcharges it, and ſtrikes off the apple without touching his ſon. Greſler, perceiving the other arrow, aſks him for what purpoſe it was intended. "It was in- "tended for thee, tyrant!" replied Tell. "I "would have pierced thy heart with it, if I had

" had the misfortune to kill my ſon!"—The bailiff orders him to be ſeiſed, bound, and thrown into a boat, that he might himſelf tranſport him acroſs the lake of Altdorf to his fortreſs, where he intended to make him atone for his daring boldneſs either by captivity or death.

Scarcely had they performed one half of the paſſage, when a furious ſquall covered the ſurface of the lake with threatening waves. The boatmen were confounded, and neglected the management of the ſkiff, which ſoon was in danger of being daſhed againſt the rocks. Greſler, as humble in the hour of danger as he had been arrogant when fear was at a diſtance, entreated Tell, who was accounted the moſt ſkilful boatman in the canton, to ſave him: and he unbound him with his own hands. Tell places himſelf at the helm, ſteers the boat toward a rock, leaps forth upon it, with the ſame effort puſhes back the boat into the lake, eſcapes, and conceals himſelf.

The ſtorm being at length appeaſed, Greſler reached the ſhore, and proceeded toward his ſtronghold. As he was about to enter it, Tell, who had by a circuitous route reached the ſpot before him, diſcharges at him an arrow, pierces his heart, and flies to join Meltchal and Furſt. Meditating in their wild retreat, thoſe three men form the project of reſcuing their country from thraldom. Each of them unboſoms himſelf to his particular friends; and on an appointed day the three for-

treſſes, the dens of the lawleſs bailiffs, are taken. Greſler, as we have ſeen, had been killed by William Tell: Wolfenſchieſſe had fallen under the axe of a huſband whoſe wife he had diſhonoured: Landenberg, leſs wicked in appearance, though in his heart as great a villain, was conducted with his agents to the frontier, and there diſmiſſed unhurt through reſpect of the emperor. Meanwhile the confederate patriots foreſaw that they had no room to expect mercy of Albert: they were therefore placing themſelves in a poſture of defence, when that prince was aſſaſſinated. His death produced a ſchiſm in the empire: under favour of which diviſion, the three cantons of Uri, Unterwalden, and Schweitz, boldly diſplayed the ſtandard of liberty in 1308.

Frederic, having aſſumed the imperial ſceptre, attacked thoſe men whom he termed rebels, with two weapons at that time extremely formidable—he put them under the ban of the empire, and cauſed them to be excommunicated by the pope: but, what was more dangerous than either, he ſent againſt them a body of troops commanded by his brother Leopold, whom he directed to enter the country, and ravage it with fire and ſword. The invaders could not enter it except by a defile called Morgarten, which thirteen hundred men of the canton of Schweitz undertook to defend againſt the numerous hoſt of Germans. Thoſe patriots poſted themſelves on the impending mountains,

whence they rolled down huge fragments of rock, which cruſhed the hoſtile cavalry, and impetuouſly deſcending to the infantry, diſcomfited and diſperſed them. Leopold, ſtruck with terror, ſeeks ſafety in flight, leaving a multitude of his ſoldiers dead on the ſpot. The cantons loſt only fourteen men on this occaſion. This victory was gained in 1315: and, as the action took place in the canton of Schweitz, and the inhabitants ſignaliſed themſelves above the others, the confederation which was the reſult of it took their name.

Nothing could be more ſimple than the conditions which formed the baſis of the aſſociation of the firſt three cantons. "They are to afford "each other aid in caſe of attack—to acknow-"ledge no other authority, protection, or ſupre-"macy, than that of the empire—to contract no "alliance without each other's conſent.—The "three ſtates are to admit no judge who is not "their fellow-citizen.—If any conteſt ariſe be-"tween the cantons, it ſhall be decided by arbi-"tration: and if one canton refuſe to ſubmit to the "award, it ſhall be compelled by the two others. "Finally, malefactors, incendiaries, robbers, and "other criminals, tried and condemned in one "canton, ſhall be conſidered as tried and con-"demned in the others; and it is forbidden to "afford them an aſylum."—Such is the foundation of one of the wiſeſt and happieſt republics that have ever exiſted. The different members

ſhall be ſucceſſively exhibited to view, as they come forward to unite in forming the perfect whole.

Uri, Unterwalden, Schweitz.

The three cantons of Uri, Unterwalden, and Schweitz, are neighbouring and contiguous to each other. They are ſurrounded by the cantons of Berne, Lucerne, Zug, Glaris, and ſome Italian bailiwicks which are moſt zealouſly catholic. The country of Uri is an object of curioſity, as well for the awful wildneſs and fantaſtic ſhapes of its mountains, as for the beauty of the roads that have been made through thoſe places which nature ſeemed to have rendered for ever impracticable. There ſtands Mount Saint-Gothard, over which lies the paſſage from Italy to Germany: its tolls yield a conſiderable revenue.—The two other cantons, Schweitz and Unterwalden, in like manner rough with mountains, and interſected by torrents and rivers and lakes, preſent ſimilar ſcenes of horror and of beauty.—Their principal wealth conſiſts in cattle and their produce, eſpecially horſes, which are vigorous, and equally fit for the yoke or the war-ſaddle.

A traveler from our countries, who wiſhes to enjoy the ſurpriſe excited by ſtrong contraſt of manners, ought to viſit thoſe cantons. He will there find the ſobriety of the ancient Spartans, their military education, their reliſh for and habit of labour, reſpect for old age, conjugal fidelity, good faith in treaties, ſimplicity of manners, fra-

ternal confidence, and ardent patriotism. The people are sovereign. The assemblies are held in the open fields: in the centre are the magistrates on horseback, headed by a chief called the Landamman, holding in his hand a drawn sword. His authority lasts only two years. At the age of sixteen, the young citizen has the right of suffrage; but he generally only echoes the opinion of his more aged relatives. There is not an example on record of the youth having ever excited any disturbance in those respectable assemblies. No harangues are pronounced: but, after a proposition is clearly explained, each individual present raises his hand or keeps it concealed. If the plurality is uncertain, two pikes are planted in the ground, with their points in contact above; and the majority of number on either side determines the question. Canvassing has no part in these elections: the employments of administration and the different public functions are accepted because the citizen wishes to render himself useful to his country. Being unattended with salaries, they are not sought for: esteem and respect are their only emoluments. Here are no notaries, consequently very few law-suits: if any do arise, they are decided without expense, each party pleading his own cause. On the slightest quarrel, any citizen becomes a magistrate: his command seals the lips that were opened to speak the language of abuse, and suspends the hand that was uplifted to strike.

Diſobedience on ſuch occaſion is puniſhed by a double fine, the one to the treaſury as a puniſhment for the contempt of the laws, the other to the citizen, as an atonement for the inſult offered to him by refuſing to attend to him when performing the function of a magiſtrate. Equality, and its concomitant innocence, prevail in theſe cantons, becauſe luxury is here unknown. Happy theſe people, if it never penetrate among them!

The firm aſſociation of the three cantons ſecured them againſt the pretenſions of the children and heirs of Albert of Auſtria, which were ſtill kept alive, as thoſe claimants had not yet relinquiſhed the hope of ſubjugating the riſing republic. But, not daring to make any direct attack upon it, they laboured to involve it in diſtreſs, that it might periſh of itſelf. All commerce with theſe cantons was forbidden to ſuch of the neighbouring towns as yet bore the Auſtrian yoke. This prohibition cauſed a famine, which the Switzers ſurmounted by their temperance and fortitude. But ſuch exceſſes of ſeverity diſguſted even thoſe who were made the involuntary agents of them: the town of Lucerne was diſpleaſed that a reſtriction ſhould be laid on her intercourſe with the cantons: ſhe complained to the Auſtrian princes, heirs of the inſatiable Albert, to whom ſhe had, almoſt unknown to herſelf, been ſubjected by an agreement with the emperor, who ceded her to the houſe of Auſtria.

That treaty is pointed out to notice by the diſ-

courſe of Walter Malter, a magiſtrate of Lucerne, to his fellow-citizens. "Two greedy merchants," ſaid he, "—the one a ſeller, the other a buyer— "have not bluſhed to bargain with each other for "this city, for our temples, our walls, our ſenate, "our burghers, our perſons, our property, and— "to complete our diſgrace—our privileges and "our liberty. Thoſe merchants have agreed "on a price, have made and ſigned a contract "without our knowledge; and, when we leaſt "expected ſuch an event, information was brought "to us that we had changed our maſter." Malter concluded by aſſerting that the only mode of redeeming themſelves from that infamous contract was to form a junction with the three confederate cantons, and make a common cauſe with them againſt the houſe of Auſtria. The propoſition was unanimouſly adopted: Lucerne eagerly ſolicited that alliance; nor did ſhe experience any difficulty in concluding it. She agreed to the ſame conditions which formed the union of the three cantons: and it was further added, that, whenever thoſe three ſtates might happen to differ in opinion, Lucerne ſhould be bound to ſide with the plurality. She entered into the league in 1335: and the three cantons yielded to her the precedency, without any other reaſons that we can diſcover, than motives of reſpect and deference.

Lucerne. The canton of Lucerne is contiguous to Bern, Soleure, Bâle, Zurich, Zug, and Schweitz: its

inhabitants are catholics; and its territory extends about fifteen leagues in length, and ſeven in breadth. The town riſes like an amphitheatre on the firſt of the Alpine mountains. Below lies a lake of the ſame name, abounding in fiſh, and one of the largeſt in Switzerland. Lucerne owes its origin to a monaſtery dependent on the famous abbey of Murbach in Alſace. Its government is ariſtocratic. The noble families alone have admiſſion to the ſenate, which is called the great council, and conſiſts of a hundred members. Private buſineſs is tranſacted by the petty council, conſiſting of thirty-ſix: but when there is queſtion of affairs of a general nature, ſuch as alliances, taxes, purchaſes or ſales of public property, or declarations of war, all the burghers are conſulted; and on theſe occaſions the government is ariſto-democratic.

The continued oppreſſions ſuffered under the houſe of Auſtria, which was accuſtomed to render its yoke heavy on the necks of thoſe who acknowledged its authority, gave a new ally to the four cantons. Zurich had already in great meaſure emancipated herſelf from the yoke by the reformation of her government, which a knight, named Robert Brann, had rendered democratic in ſpite of the nobles, whom he excluded from all ſhare in it. It is a remarkable circumſtance that at the ſame time a baker introduced the ſame form of government at Straſburg. The nobles of Zurich implored the protection of the houſe of Auſtria,

Zurich.

which was well pleaſed to give them aſſiſtance that might have the effect of raiſing the fallen power of their family in thoſe countries of which they regretted the loſs. Alarmed by the hoſtile preparatives, the new ſenate of Zurich applied to the Helvetic confederacy, and was admitted into it in 1350. As if it were a merit in that coalition to have been the laſt to join it, the foremoſt rank was aſſigned to Zurich. That city, which was the fifth member adopted into the union, contains the chancellery of the republic. Before it are laid all the affairs which are common to the whole body; and it communicates them to the other members. When the diet is aſſembled in a place equally belonging to all the cantons, the deputies from Zurich preſide in it: when it is convened in an excluſive dependency of any particular canton, it is the repreſentative of that canton who acts as preſident. Zurich convokes the general aſſemblies, and receives embaſſadors and foreign miniſters.

Zurich lies between Turgau, Schweitz, Zug, the free bailiwicks, and the Rhine. It is one of the moſt opulent and commercial towns of Switzerland, is ſituate in an agreeable and fertile country, on the margin of a great lake, is enriched by manufactures, and ornamented with an academy where polite literature is cultivated with ſucceſs; and, finally, it is provided with vaſt arſenals furniſhed with all ſorts of arms. The Zurichers rarely enter into the armies of foreign nations, but

learn the art of war at home and for the ſervice of their own country alone. Their territory extends twenty leagues in length and in breadth. The proteſtant religion is the only one profeſſed in it.

In this canton, which is the moſt populous of the Helvetic confederacy, the government is ariſto-democratic, after the following manner—The burghers being divided into tribes, each tribe in turn elects a magiſtrate when there is a vacancy. In this view of the buſineſs, the people are ſovereign: but thoſe magiſtrates are perpetual, and exerciſe ſupreme authority; which circumſtance conſtitutes an ariſtocracy. The form of the election is this—The chief of the tribe calls upon one of the members, without having given him previous notice, to nominate the perſon whom he thinks qualified to fill the vacant place. The latter lays a ſimilar injunction on four other members: and the ſuffrages of the whole tribe, given by ſecret ballot, muſt be confined to the five individuals thus propoſed. A petty council, compoſed of fifty-eight members taken from the body of the ſenate, tranſact the ordinary buſineſs. If two members pronounce any queſtion to be of major importance, it is, without further diſcuſſion, referred to the great council.

Notwithſtanding the advantage which the Zurichers derived from their alliance with the four free cantons, their wearineſs of a ruinous war induced them to accede to an arbitration for the

purpoſe of terminating their diſputes with the houſe of Auſtria. The arbitrators included in their award a point which had not been ſubmitted to their judgement: they decided in general that none of the nations of upper Germany ſhould thenceforward be at liberty to league themſelves with the ſubjects of the houſe of Auſtria. Thoſe nations of upper Germany were preciſely the cantons which had regained their freedom: and that deciſion was equivalent to a declaration that the republic, which already conſiſted of four cantons, was deprived of the power of enlarging herſelf by the acceſſion of other ſtates. She indignantly rejected that prohibitory law; and, not content with deſpiſing it, the cantons acted in direct oppoſition to it.

Bordering on the ſtates of Schweitz and Uri, is the ſmall canton of Glaris, ſituate in the heart of the Alps. Its only habitable part is a delightful valley, nine leagues in length, very narrow, bounded by a lake, and ſurrounded by high mountains covered with eternal ſnows. The Auſtrian tax-gatherers continued to practiſe there the ſame oppreſſions which had cauſed the loſs of the republican cantons. The latter thought that Glaris was, by its poſition, well calculated to ſerve them as a rampart againſt the German invaſions with which they were conſtantly threatened: they therefore carried into it the ſtandard of liberty, to which the mal-treated inhabitants crowded with enthu- Glaris.

ſiaſm and gratitude. Thus, in 1351, the ſame year which had enriched the Helvetic republic by the addition of the opulent canton of Zurich, it was fortified with the rocks of Glaris, its ſixth canton. The town of Glaris is one of the largeſt and moſt beautiful in all Switzerland. Its trade, in cattle, cheeſe, and linen, is ſure and conſiderable. The government is democratic, after the ſame form as that of the firſt three cantons. The Roman catholic and the proteſtant religions are equally practiſed in it. The members of the latter are the more numerous by one third. The two ſects celebrate divine ſervice in the ſame churches, without the ſlighteſt conteſt ariſing from the diverſity of worſhip. The tribunals are filled by an equal number of judges from each communion. No controverſy is permitted at Glaris. In ſociety no man is diſtinguiſhed either as papiſt or proteſtant: the inhabitants deſignate each other by no other term than that of fellow-citizens.

Zug. In the year 1352, the Helvetic league made the acquiſition of Zug, the ſeventh canton. Reſentment procured for the republic theſe new allies. They were warmly attached to the houſe of Auſtria; and that diſpoſition, too ſtrongly expreſſed, inſpired the republicans with a reſolution of invading the country, leſt it ſhould afford to the Auſtrians a convenient entrance to penetrate into their territories. They laid ſiege to Zug. The inhabitants made a valiant defence: but, find-

ing themſelves cloſely preſſed, they requeſted, previous to their ſurrender, a favour which at that time it was not unuſual to grant—the liberty of going to explain their diſtreſs to their ſovereign, and to ſee whether he had the intention and the ability to ſuccour them. Albert of Auſtria liſtened to the deputies with ſuch cold indifference, that the inhabitants of Zug were fired with indignation, and ſurrendered the town on condition of being admitted into the confederacy; which privilege was accordingly granted. This little canton, ſituate partly among the Alps, partly in the plain between Zurich, Lucerne, and Schweitz, is fertile of corn and wine. Its inhabitants are zealous catholics. Their government is neither democratic nor ariſtocratic: it is a confuſed aſſemblage of laws, uſages, reſtrictions, abuſes, equally whimſical as injudicious. Here are ſome communities enjoying ſovereignty, others in a ſtate of ſubjection, and they all agree together.

The apathic Albert had no ſooner loſt Zug through his own fault, than he repented of his error, and ſent his armies againſt the Zurichers to take vengeance. The invaders laid ſiege to Zurich: but the hoſtilities were ſuſpended by a negotiation, which ended in a treaty. The duke of Auſtria violated it in every article: he had imagined, that, by his intrigues, he would ſucceed in diſmembering the republic of the Switzers: but, on the contrary, it augmented itſelf by the acqui-

ſition of another ſtate, which became the eighth canton.

Bern. The ſtates of Bern had, in that part of the Alps which they occupied, formed themſelves into a republic that was ſingly more powerful than one half of the ſeven united cantons. That city had in the beginning been oppoſed by a league of the neighbouring nobles, of ſome towns whoſe jealouſy it excited, and of the emperor himſelf. Being attacked, Bern found a reſource in the Helvetic confederacy, which ſent troops to her aſſiſtance. Notwithſtanding this ſuccour, the Berneſe army was very inferior in number to that of the confederates. Cloſely preſſed, the people of Bern had elected a dictator, Rodolf of Erlach, who, though unequal to the enemies in ſtrength, reſolved to give them battle. At the moment of commencing the action, he harangued his ſoldiers in the following bacchanalian and military ſtrain—

"My dear comrades! all of us who are here "aſſembled have often met together in the feſ- "tivity of banqueting, diverſions, and dancing: "and we can mutually vouch for each other that "we have always acquitted ourſelves on ſuch oc- "caſions like gallant fellows. This day we have "before us a party of a ſomewhat more ſerious "nature: but, if you will take my advice, we will "engage in it with equal gaiety. It is true indeed "that we ſtake on the game every thing which is "dear to man—our honour, our liberty, our pro-

" perty: but the only object with us is to fix the " uncertainty of chance by our valour. All that " we have to do is to deal out plenty of blows " without fearing the ſtrokes of our enemies, and " to prove ourſelves better men than yon crowd " of petty nobles, whom we ſee there aſſembled " only to furniſh us with a greater portion of ſpoil " and glory. I take on myſelf all the riſques of " the adventure. This is my ſixth time of taking " a part in ſuch buſineſs: all the former affairs I " have, thank God, ſeen happily terminated, " rather through the good-will of the actors than " their great number. I hope therefore, generous " compatriots! that you will this day convince the " world that the Berneſe do not count their ene- " mies before a battle: and I, on my part, will " convince you that I am worthy to command an " army of Berneſe."

After this addreſs, maſter Theobald the high-prieſt, who held the ſacrament in one hand and a ſword in the other, gives them his benediction: the charge is ſounded: they ruſh on their enemies; and a moſt complete victory crowns the hopes of the brave Erlach.

In conſequence of it, Bern gained new territories which placed themſelves under her protection. Thoſe territories adjoined ſome others which were protected by the Helvetic confederacy. Between the inhabitants of both, certain diſputes aroſe, which involved the two republics in their

quarrels; and the miſunderſtanding was on the point of degenerating into open hoſtility. But they had the good ſenſe to perceive that it was better to compromiſe matters than to fight, and that a union would even be the mean of procuring a ſpeedy peace for thoſe conterminous bailiwicks, which, not having thenceforward any body to ſupport them in their petty diſſenſions, would of themſelves come to an agreement. Theſe conſiderations impelled the Berneſe to wiſh for admittance into the Helvetic league, and induced the latter to admit them.

The acceſſion of ſo conſiderable a canton to the other ſeven conſiderably augmented the power of the confederacy. Theſe eight allies are, to the preſent day, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the eight "ancient cantons." Although Bern was the eighth that acceded to the union, nevertheleſs ſix of the others yielded to it the precedency; in conſequence of which, they now rank in the following order—Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Schweitz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, and Glaris. During the ſpace of a hundred and twenty-five years, theſe cantons alone conſtituted the Helvetic body. They made together ſeveral conqueſts, and have had common concerns which ſo intimately united their intereſts that they thought it neceſſary to aſſemble in diet by their deputies at certain fixed periods. The princes who had any propoſitions to make to them have accuſtomed themſelves to ſend their

miniſters to thoſe aſſemblies, which, through habit, have become the centre of all negotiation with the Switzers.

The territory of Bern alone embraces very nearly one third of Switzerland, bounded by Lucerne, Uri, Unterwalden, the biſhopric of Baſil, Franche-Comté, Neufchâtel, the ſtates of Auſtria, Soleure, Savoy, Geneva, and the Valais. From theſe points of contact we ſee how great influence the determination of Bern may have in any diſcuſſions that concern Savoy, Italy, France, and Germany. The canton of Bern is very fertile, populous, and embelliſhed with opulent towns. No other than the Calviniſtic religion is permitted in it. The temper of the inhabitants is mild and eaſy: they are rich without oſtentation, powerful without pride, noble without preſumption. The fathers are uſually the firſt inſtructors of their children. The firſt things which they teach them are the love of their country, and an eſteem for moderation and equity and ſobriety. The manners of the people are rather pure than auſtere. Œconomy is highly valued; and the prodigal citizen who ſhould ſquander his patrimony, would be expoſed to the animadverſion of the ſenate, and puniſhed with exile. A man ſufficiently baſe to be a bad father of a family is conſidered as a bad citizen. Bern cultivates the ſciences, and contains an academy, from which come forth valuable productions in every branch. Here are rich hoſpitals

properly adminiſtered, a well-furniſhed arſenal, and ſumptuous edifices. The fronts of all the houſes belong to the republic: they are uniformly decorated, and embelliſhed with arcades which afford in all ſeaſons a ſhelter from either the rain or the too powerful heat of the ſun.

The government is ariſtocratic. There is an armorial liſt of the noble families which alone are entitled to ſit in the ſenate or great council. That body cannot conſiſt of leſs than two hundred members or more than three hundred. It meets twice a-week, and decides on affairs of greater importance: thoſe of leſſer moment fall under the cogniſance of a tribunal of twenty-ſeven members taken from the great council, and who aſſemble every day except Sunday. Theſe authorities are ſuſpended during the three laſt days of the holy week; when a council is appointed, conſiſting of the four *bannerets* of the republic, and ſixteen commiſſioners, who examine the conduct of the members of the council of two hundred, and expel from it thoſe who appear to have rendered themſelves unworthy of their ſeats: at leaſt it is their duty to expel them: but it is ſaid that hardly any except very notorious diſorders are now puniſhed with that ignominy, and that perſonal or family conſiderations frequently prevail over republican rigidity.

In addition to the tribunals eſtabliſhed at Bern for the tranſaction of buſineſs of various kinds,

there is a magiſtrate intruſted with the charge of watching over the morals of the citizens. He propoſes the ſumptuary laws, and cauſes them to be carried into execution. He is the head of what is called the "council of reform," whoſe attention is conſtantly employed in oppoſing the introduction of frivolity, of vanity in faſhions and dreſs, of exceſſes at the table, and of games of haſard. The ſenate of Bern is famous for the ſecrecy of its deliberations, and the celerity of its execution.

Half a century was ſpent in wars and truces with the houſe of Auſtria, who, as it would ſeem, diſdained to honour the Helvetic league with either conſtant peace or regularly ſupported war. That ſpace of time did not elapſe without the formation of intrigues, which conducted to the ſcaffold ſome traitors to their country who had ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted by bribes or promiſes. The year 1370 is remarkable for the firſt ſtruggle of the Switzers againſt the French. It aroſe from the pretenſions of Enguerrand de Couci, who, inheriting the rights of his mother the granddaughter of the emperor Albert, claimed certain lands which he aſſerted to have been uſurped from his grand-father by the Switzers. They ſucceſſfully defended their poſſeſſions, and, after a bloody battle, drove Couci's auxiliaries from their territory.

From theſe alternations of peace and war the Switzers derived the advantage of habituating

themſelves to the practice of ſtanding conſtantly on their guard. They ſubjected themſelves to a ſyſtem of military diſcipline worthy of the ancient Spartans, contained in the ordinance of 1393. It forbids them, under pain of death, in whatever circumſtances they may be placed in war, to violate the ſanctity of churches or the honour of women. It enjoins them to defend and ſuccour each other as brethren, notwithſtanding any conteſts which may have previouſly exiſted between them, and in ſpite of all danger to which that mutual aſſiſtance may expoſe them. They are not to quit their ranks in battle under any pretext, even though they ſhould feel themſelves mortally wounded. No Switzer muſt ever pillage for his own private emolument: they are commanded to carry all the fruits of the victory to the common ſtock. Finally, the cantons engage not to undertake any war that has not been previouſly propoſed and made the ſubject of deliberation in a general diet, and determined by general conſent. To guard againſt ſurpriſals, they eſtabliſhed from mountain to mountain a chain of ſignals which almoſt inſtantaneouſly ſpread the alarm through the entire republic, ſummon all the men to arms, and call them to certain poſts anticipatively deſignated. They arrive there furniſhed with arms and the neceſſary proviſions, eſpecially familiariſed with the military exerciſes, and warm with the pure love of their country.

The intervals of peace or ſuſpenſions of hoſtilities with the houſe of Auſtria afforded alſo an opportunity to the cantons of ſtrengthening themſelves, not by the acceſſion of new ſtates to their confederacy, but by the protection that they granted to ſome neighbouring ſtates, on which they conferred the right of *comburgherſhip*. That privilege attached the latter to the Helvetic league, which protected them without any dependence on the part of the protected except reſpect and deference, and without any of the degrading circumſtances of ſubjection. Such, for inſtance, were the inhabitants of the valleys of Appenzel, vaſſals, and oppreſſed vaſſals, of the abbey of Saint-Gall.

The territory of that abbey extends between Zurich, Schafhauſen, the lake of Conſtance, and the Rhine. Its foundation is carried back to the end of the tenth century. An honeſt Scotchman built in that quarter a hermitage, which derived increaſe from the reputation of his virtue and that of the hermits who aſſociated themſelves with him. Sigebert, king of Auſtraſia, having married a troubleſome and ill-tempered wife, thought or feigned to think her poſſeſſed by a dæmon, and cauſed her to be conducted to Saint-Gall, to be freed from the turbulent ſpirit by whom ſhe was haunted. Whatever means the inhabitants of the ſolitude employed to effect the cure, they rendered the queen gentle and complying. Sigebert con- Saint-Gall.

ſidered this alteration as ſo miraculous that he granted to them a conſiderable tract of land around their hermitage. The valleys of Appenzel are the richeſt portion of that donation. The monks not ſhowing ſufficient tenderneſs for the inhabitants, the latter revolted, and, by the aſſiſtance of the Switzers, emancipated themſelves in 1418: but it was not till above fifty years after, that their abſolute independence was acknowledged.

Friburg. Friburg in like manner entered into the alliance of the cantons through the door of protection and confraternity. But they acquired under the title of ſovereignty the barony of Oſtranges, which they purchaſed in 1410. About the ſame period the ſtates of Neufchâtel placed themſelves under the immediate protection of Bern. That principality, ſituate at the foot of mount Jura, on the borders of the beautiful lake which bears its name, adjoins to Baſil, Franche-Comté, and the cantons of Bern and Friburg. It extends ſix leagues in breadth and twelve in length, and is peopled by a race of dextrous, induſtrious, and poliſhed inhabitants.

There is no-where elſe to be found a conſtitution reſembling that of Neufchâtel, which is at once a principality and a republic. The republic is conſidered as being in a ſtate of ſubjection, but in fact the prince poſſeſſes no authority over her. She allows him only the honours, and ſome ſlight tokens of ſubmiſſion. She ſends her embaſſadors,

treats on a footing of equality with ſovereigns, and is governed by a council compoſed of four nobles, four country mayors, and four burghers. This council is ſubordinate to the ſenate, which is called the "three eſtates." The governor who repreſents the prince aſſiſts in that aſſembly with his head covered, but has not the right of voting in it. This principality belongs to the king of Pruſſia. Thus the moſt abſolute monarch in Germany has for ſubjects the free and ſovereign citizens of Neufchâtel, whoſe conſtitution and laws he is obliged to reſpect. The French is the only language ſpoken here, except in the barony of Landeron; and the Calviniſtic is the only religion tolerated.

The Valais united itſelf alſo with the Switzers in 1421, or rather became affiliated to the canton of Bern. After having been free, and acknowledged as ſuch even in the time of the Romans, as the Valaiſans themſelves ſay—after having been at firſt governed by the biſhop of Sion their capital—in proceſs of time they ſuffered dominion to be exerciſed over them as ſubjects. The temporal power of the prelates being gradually increaſed by the ſtrength which it derived from the ſpiritual authority, the inhabitants would have been finally cruſhed under the weight of that two-fold deſpotiſm, had not the barons of Razen, the moſt conſiderable family in the country, raiſed obſtacles to arreſt the career of oppreſſion. Unfortunately the ſon of one of thoſe barons, becom- Valais.

ing biſhop of Sion, perſuaded his father to allow free ſcope to his pretenſions; and now the Valaiſans ſaw themſelves in danger of loſing the ſmall ſhare of liberty which they had yet remaining.

A ſingular cuſtom exiſted among them. When any inhabitant had made himſelf enemies, or when a great number of citizens thought him dangerous or guilty of any crime againſt his country, a club was carried from houſe to houſe, into which thoſe who thought him worthy of proſcription ſtuck a nail. When ſtudded with a ſufficient number of nails, the club was ſet up before the door of the obnoxious individual; and this ſignal was equivalent to a formal ſentence, apprifing the citizen that he had but a ſhort time to ſettle his affairs and quit the country with all ſpeed. If he delayed, thoſe who had driven the nails into the club aſſembled together, took up arms, and overturned his houſe from the foundations, unleſs they preferred the alternative of ſelling it by auction, and dividing the produce among themſelves.

Not daring to attack the head of the houſe of Razen or the biſhop, the Valaiſans ſucceſſively planted the club before the doors of the partiſans of that family. When they had abridged its power by theſe compulſory baniſhments, the biſhop, ſeeing himſelf as it were iſolated, ſought ſafety in flight. Emboldened by this ſucceſs, the Valaiſans ſet up the club at the entrance of an

aſylum to which the widow of the baron Razen had retired, and where ſhe quietly lived with her children, without meddling in public affairs. That diſconſolate mother went to make her complaints at Bern, of which her late huſband had been admitted a comburgher. So perſevering and unjuſt a perſecution exciting the indignation of the Berneſe, they took up arms, invaded the Valais, and ravaged the country with fire and ſword. Other cantons protected the Valaiſans, who reaped from their conteſt an advantage which they had not foreſeen—that of becoming a republic, which, without being one of the conſtituent members of the Helvetic body, is nevertheleſs intimately united with it.

Its territory conſiſts of a valley thirty-three leagues in length, but very limited in its breadth, lying between the canton of Uri, Savoy, the Milaneſe, and the canton of Bern. It is traverſed in its length by the Rhone, and crowned by thoſe lofty ſnow-capped mountains from which that river derives its ſource. In that part of the declivity which lies below the bounds of this eternal winter, grow delicious fruits, abundant harveſts, and wines of excellent quality, of which the inhabitants do not niggard their enjoyment. They delight in a life of indolence, have neither commerce nor induſtry, and profeſs the Romiſh religion. The government is democratic. The biſhop of Sion, as chief magiſtrate under the title

of count or prefect of the Valais, is, like the doge of Venice, loaded with honours, but deſtitute of authority. He is elected by the people, whoſe deputies compoſe a great council, which exerciſes the legiſlative power, and decides on public affairs and the private cauſes of individuals.

After having aided the valleys of Appenzel in ſhaking off the yoke of the abbey of Saint-Gall, the cantons admitted into their alliance the city of Saint-Gall itſelf, about the year 1450. Already at that period the tie of its ſubjection to the abbey was very ſlight, and it had an ariſto-democratic government compoſed of nobles and commoners, with a chief under the title of *burgomaſter*, who was changed every year. The territory of this republic is only an extent of ſix leagues, incloſed in the domains of the abbey. The monaſtery is magnificent: ſix monks elect the abbot, who, from a ſimple friar born in the loweſt rank of life, ſuddenly riſes to the rank of an opulent ſovereign. He dwells in a palace, where he holds a ſplendid court formed of gentlemen who have employments about his perſon. The monks who are promoted to poſts of dignity, ſecretaries, treaſurers, and others, participate more or leſs in that luxury. The religious inhabitants of the monaſtery are in number eighty, of the order of Saint Benedict. The republic, which conſiſts of the city alone, is reſpectable for the wiſdom of its conſtitution, the auſterity of its police, its vigilant inſpec-

tion of manners, and the excellence of its ſumptuary laws, which are ſeverely enforced, although the wealth of ſome of its inhabitants has by commerce been ſwelled to millions. Its deputies hold, in the Helvetic diets, the ſecond rank among the ſtates in alliance with Switzerland. The abbot takes his ſeat immediately after the thirteenth canton.

In the year 1453, during the reign of Charles VII, was concluded the firſt treaty between the Switzers and France. It has ſerved as the baſis of all thoſe which have ſucceeded it. The monarch bound himſelf never to oppoſe them either by himſelf or his ſubjects, and to give no aid or ſuccour or counſel to thoſe who might attempt to moleſt them. The inhabitants and ſubjects, of whatever quality or condition, were allowed the liberty of paſſing at all times through every part of France with their equipages and arms and baggage without hindrance or moleſtation, and to traffic there with all freedom. Louis XI made an advantageous uſe of the influence which that treaty gave him over the Switzers, to engage them in hoſtility with Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and thus rid himſelf of that formidable enemy. The three victories which the Switzers gained over that prince were the fruits of their ſuperior diſcipline. In the battle of Granſon in 1476, their firmneſs ſuſtained unſhaken the ſhock of a powerful body of cavalry which ruſhed and was broken againſt it.

At Morat, in the ſame year, the Switzers undauntedly attacked an army of ſuperior numbers, ſteadily advancing over grounds which had been rendered ſlippery by a heavy rain, and without ſuffering themſelves to be diverted from their onward courſe by the attacks from the different bodies poſted on their flanks. At length the Burgundian, that irreconcilable enemy, periſhed in 1477 at the battle of Nanci, in which the Switzers acted only as auxiliaries, although they were more numerous than the troops of the duke of Lorraine.

Louis XI rewarded theſe indirect ſervices by the grant of conſiderable privilges to the Helvetic ſoldiers and their widows, exemption from all taxes, impoſitions, and ſubſidies. At this time the Switzers enjoyed the higheſt reputation. At their diets appeared the embaſſadors of popes, of emperors, and of the houſe of Auſtria which had ceaſed to ſtyle them its ſubjects. They dictated treaties, and gave law to the contending parties. At the ſame period alſo they began to ſhow an avidity of money: the potentate who paid the greateſt price was always the moſt certain of ſeeing them ſwell the bulk of his armies; and their fidelity to whatever ſovereign took them into his ſervice depended on his punctuality in making good the ſtipulated payments.

During the career of its ſucceſſes, the Helvetic confederacy had increaſed its ſtrength by the acceſſion of two catholic cantons, Friburg and So-

leure (or Solothurn), the former lying between the Pais de Vaud, Neufchâtel, Bern, and Sion—the latter adjoining to Franche-Comté by the narrow pafs of Porentrui, and to Bafil, Lucerne, Bern, and Neufchâtel. This admiffion took place in 1480, under the arbitration of a hermit named brother Nicolas, who was called upon to pronounce refpecting the lawfulnefs of an alliance between Friburg, Soleure, and the canton of Bern. Brother Nicolas annulled the treaty, and declared that Friburg and Soleure, inftead of being the allies of Bern, fhould be admitted as integrant members of the Helvetic body. His award was carried into execution: they were incorporated with the confederacy as the ninth and tenth cantons on the fame condition of a union of intereffs in peace and war as the firft eight, and preferved their own refpective governments, which were, like almoft all the others, a mixture of ariftocracy and democracy. Friburg. Soleure.

The German phlegm caufes that ftrange mixture to fubfift, to our great aftonifhment, without any difturbance between the different cantons. Nevertheleſs their almoft preternatural good-underftanding has fometimes experienced the effects of the irreconcilable antipathy between thofe two kinds of government. The cantons where ariftocracy prevailed have teftified, in favour of thofe monarchs who folicited them, a propenfity which gave alarm to the democratic ftates. Without

any internal ſchiſm, they followed the bent of their paſſions in taking part in foreign wars until the year 1499. At that period a new article was added to the Helvetic alliance, ordaining that they ſhould never fight except in defence of their country and their liberty: and the war, called that of Swabia, excited by Maximilian of Auſtria, was the laſt which the Switzers, as a nation, waged out of their own territories.

In 1501, Bâle and Schafhauſen formed the eleventh and twelfth cantons, both profeſſing the proteſtant religion. The former adjoins to Schafhauſen, Lucerne, Soleure, and Alſace from which it is only ſeparated by the Rhine: the latter is conterminous to Zurich; Thurgau lying between them. That ſovereign principality was inſenſibly abſorpt by the two contiguous cantons. The ſame fate has befallen ſeveral other petty ſtates, which thought themſelves happy to become the allies or comburghers of a republic, inſtead of continuing ſubject to different princes, as they had previouſly been. Four years antecedently, the valleys of Appenzel, which had only been under the protection of the confederacy, were admitted into it, and formed the thirteenth and laſt canton.

The reſolution adopted by the Helvetic confederacy, of not embarking in extraneous wars, was ſolely intended to bind the republic as a body; leaving each individual canton at liberty to allow its ſubjects to enliſt under foreign banners, or join

their own ſtandards with thoſe of the belligerant powers which beſt ſuited them. The wars of Italy between the French, the Venetians, the popes, the emperors, the Milaneſe, the Genoeſe, and others, opened a wide door for the Switzers to avail themſelves of that permiſſion to turn their valour to lucrative account. In thoſe expeditions they acquired immortal renown. The battle of Marignan, continued during two days between them and the French, will ever be remembered. It was followed in 1516 by a treaty of perpetual alliance, ſuch as ought to be concluded between nations which mutually eſteem each other. It is to be remarked, however, that all the beneficial clauſes are in favour of the Switzers, who have never failed to ſeiſe on ſuch advantages.

It is proper to deſcribe the Helvetic body, ſuch as it was at the commencement of the ſixteenth century, and the nature of the bonds by which the parts were united, becauſe the conſtitution which it had at that period has continued to our own time. It is compoſed, in the firſt place, of thirteen cantons—then of aſſociates, confederates, comburghers, who do not all enjoy equal conſideration in the eye of the principal body. Some of them are not at all conſulted on the general affairs of the republic: others are called to the diets, where they ſit and deliberate. The moſt important of the latter are the Griſons, who occupy the country formerly known by the name of Rhætia, Griſons.

between Glaris, Tirol, the ſtates of Venice, and the Milaneſe. Of themſelves they form a powerful republic; and, divided into two parts, of which neither commands the other, they preſerve, under two diſtinct governments, an inſeparable union. The Griſon confederacy is bound by ties of intereſt and friendſhip to that of the Valaiſans, who, like the Griſons, are divided into two aſſociations under an eligible chief, by whom they are repreſented in the diets. Mulhauſen, Bienne, Geneva, imperial cities, have become allies to the Switzers. Neufchâtel alſo, notwithſtanding the king of Pruſſia's ſovereignty, enjoys the ſame privilege, which is by no means uſeleſs to it. Other little tracts of country are united by different links to the Helvetic league, the tutelar divinity to whom they look up for the protection of their liberty.

The concuſſions by which Europe was ſhaken during the ſixteenth century were alſo felt in Switzerland. Cruel empire of opinion! how many perſons it rendered miſerable in that unfortunate age! Luther appeared: but was the good he did to mankind, in freeing them from what he called errors, greater than the evil which he produced by cauſing men to be butchered for what he ſtyled truths? He was preceded in Switzerland by Zuinglius, a prieſt of Zurich. The abuſive purpoſe to which indulgences were converted, by being ſold to the people at a very dear rate as a ſponge to wipe out their ſins, excited the

indignation of that prieſt. From a deteſtation of that infamous traffic its oppugners proceeded to a perſuaſion that the dogma which taught to place a confidence in thoſe indulgences was erroneous: this was followed by doubts reſpecting the power of the ſovereign pontifs who promulgated them: afterward ſucceeded diſcuſſions on points of diſcipline, and principally on the nature and obligation of vows. The firſt and moſt zealous proſelytes gained by Zuinglius were the nuns of a convent at Zurich. As a proof of their faith in the doctrine of the new preacher, they quitted their nunnery; and the younger part of their number engaged in the matrimonial ſtate. Zuinglius himſelf, though a prieſt and advanced in years, being either impatient of the yoke of celibacy or deſirous of encouraging others by his example, married alſo.

Theſe innovations, which trenched on the police, attracted the attention of the magiſtrates. Thoſe of Zurich approved the conduct of their prieſt and of his diſciples. Not only were they pleaſed to ſee his opinions diſſeminated through the country under their juriſdiction, but they viewed with evil eye thoſe of the other cantons who by prohibitory laws retarded the progreſs of what they termed the "reformation." They aſſumed the flattering title of "evangelic," becauſe they pretended that it was among themſelves only that the pure doctrine of the goſpel exiſted. In 1523

the Zurichers had already gained over the Griſons, and many individuals in the neighbouring cantons. Thoſe of the catholic cantons into which the reformation had not yet penetrated thought it their duty to adopt vigorous meaſures of precaution againſt the contagion by which they were threatened. As they were the more numerous, they pronounced ſentence of excluſion from the Helvetic body againſt the cantons which profeſſed or ſhould profeſs the new religion. Beſides Zurich, their anathema fell on Bern, Bâle, Schafhauſen, and Appenzel, which already contained a great number of non-conformiſts.

It was with reaſon that they were thus denominated: for thoſe reformers, having ſucceſſively attacked different points of doctrine and diſcipline as they happened to diſpleaſe their fancy, maintained no conformity with each other either in principles or in the manner of proving and defending them. Thus Luther was not in uniſon with Zuinglius in many particulars. The German reformer, notwithſtanding the pride and impetuoſity of his character, conſented to bend for the ſake of obtaining ſome conceſſions from the Switzers on certain points reſpecting which he diſagreed with them. Zuinglius, ſtubborn from conviction as Luther was through pride, would never conſent to an approximation; and the two churches have ever remained divided on an eſſential article; Luther having taught the real and permanent preſence

of Jeſus Chriſt in the euchariſt, whereas Zuinglius admitted only an ideal and momentary preſence, to which he gave the name of "ſacramental," a term that eluded all objection concerning a preſence which is in fact a non-preſence.

Thoſe two ſects, however, were wiſe enough to avoid haraſſing each other with too great acrimony. They directed, each in the country where it prevailed, their principal efforts againſt the Romiſh church, their common enemy. The Switzers, terrified by the diſcord which the diverſity of opinions excited among them, had the ſimplicity to imagine that peace might be re-eſtabliſhed by conferences between the teachers of both parties—as if, on the contrary, when people began by wrangling, they did not always conclude by hating each other. Such was the reſult of the conference of Marpurg in 1630, and of the congreſs at Bremgarten. While the doctors were arguing, the diſciples were meaſuring each other with their eyes, and promiſed to themſelves within their own minds that they would certainly convince by force of arms the obſtinate unbelievers who refuſed their aſſent to the evidence adduced by their maſters: and accordingly it was not long ere they proceeded to open hoſtilities. At Cappel a bloody battle was fought between the Berneſe and Zurichers on the one hand, and five cantons on the other. Zuinglius, who was preſent at the engagement, loſt his life in it. His adherents, being put to

flight, left many of their number dead on the field.

This was the only remarkable act of violence which the diverſity of religion occaſioned between the Switzers. As if they had been aſhamed of ſuch ferocious proceedings among brethren, they ſuddenly reſumed pacific ſentiments, and, almoſt as ſoon as they quitted the field of battle, made the following regulation which has never ſince been infringed. They ordained that the catholic and the proteſtant cantons ſhould in no wiſe interfere with each other's tranſactions reſpecting religion: that, in the cantons where the two religions ſubſiſted, the profeſſors of both ſhould live together in good underſtanding. The reformed ſhall have a temple, but ſhall not diſturb the catholics in their feſtivals and ceremonies. The reformed and the catholic clergy ſhall mutually abſtain from injurious appellations. Finally, any perſon, who, in word or deed, ſhall inſult another on the ſcore of religion, ſhall be confined in priſon three days and three nights on bread and water, and ſhall pay a fine. Thoſe who are unable to pay ſhall remain ſix days in confinement. Women ſhall be ſubjected to only half the puniſhment.—This faſt on bread and water, ſo efficacious in Switzerland, might prove equally ſerviceable in other countries.

There have been few diſputes between crowned heads in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries

and down to the preſent day, in which the Switzers have not taken a part, not as principals, but as allies or auxiliaries called in by the belligerant powers. There is not a potentate in Europe who does not wiſh to have Switzer troops in his armies, and who does not purchaſe that advantage at a high rate: whence thoſe republicans have been accuſed of trafficking their lives and ſelling their blood: but it is with injuſtice that a nation who, by the wiſdom of her conſtitution, by her ſituation and the nature of her country, is exempt from ſeeing more than the ſhadow of war within her own boundaries, is blamed for going to ſerve an apprenticeſhip to the art in other countries, that ſhe may be duly trained to it in caſe of ever being expoſed to the reality. Thanks to her valour, to the wiſdom of her laws, to her love of liberty—thanks eſpecially to her moderation—the Helvetic nation is one of the happieſt upon earth. Fortified by their rocks and lakes and defiles, accuſtomed to arms, and characteriſtically warlike, the Switzers, if attacked, would be able to defend themſelves againſt the united forces of all Europe. They have but one enemy to fear: that enemy has been unknown to them during the paſt ages—has been deſpiſed by them: but it is aſſerted that they begin to feel ſpreading among them the fatal influence of that dangerous enemy—of luxury, which is ſaid to be making its way into the cantons, and which, by corrupting the morals of the people, will cauſe the

downfall of the republic, if the Switzers ceaſe to oppoſe to it their priſtine ſimplicity and prudence and moderation.

Under the influence of the French, Switzerland is now employed in giving a new form to her government, which ceaſes to be federative, without loſing any thing of the eſſence of republicaniſm.

Geneva.

The republic of Geneva is a ſingle city with a very limited territory. It is ſituate on a promontory at the place where the Rhone iſſues from the *lacus Lemanus* *. Its hiſtory has ſupplied matter for ſeveral volumes. By retrenching all thoſe details that can be of no importance except to the citizens alone, it is reduced to domeſtic intrigues, and quarrels with its neighbours; of which we will ſelect ſuch facts as, by their ſingularity or on any other account, appear to be of an intereſting nature.

Geneva exiſted in the time of Julius Cæſar, and was already celebrated and opulent, as being the frequented thoroughfare between Gaul and Italy. From the Vandals and other invaders of the lower empire, it paſſed into the hands of the Burgundians. In 620, Clotaire gave to it a form of government. At the concluſion of the eighth century, Charlemagne held in it an aſſembly of all his ſtates. At that time it had counts and biſhops. The former

* The lake of Geneva.

were only counts of the ſoil, and ſtyled themſelves counts of the Genevan territory. The city was governed by a ſenate, who often availed themſelves of the interpoſition of the biſhops to reſiſt the attempts of the counts: hence the biſhops acquired a certain influence by their counſel, from which they gradually roſe to the power of authority. The ſucceſſion of thoſe biſhops from the eleventh century is recorded in hiſtory. They frequently ſuffered the vindictive retaliation of the counts, whom the ſenate oppoſed to the prelates when the latter were become too enterpriſing in their encroachments. The dukes of Savoy have ſometimes inveſted their younger ſons as counts of Geneva. Thoſe princes lived in the city with more honour than power, and were content with their lot.

A ſenate, dukes, counts, biſhops, a government ſo ſubdivided and complicated, could not fail to produce numerous diſturbances during the lapſe of ſeveral centuries. The hiſtorian of Geneva has not omitted a ſingle one of the whole number. If you conſult him, he will inform you, that, when the proteſtant religion firſt began to appear at Geneva, there roſe oppoſite parties which bore factious appellations: the catholics, devoted to Savoy, were called *Mammelucs*, probably in alluſion to the ancient Egyptian ſoldiery, who, originally free, had become ſlaves to the ſultans. The proteſtants were named *Eignots*, a German word

ſignifying "ſworn confederates;" from which the word *Huguenot* has been formed. Thus that denomination, which has ſpread through entire Europe, will be found to have derived its origin from an inconſiderable city at the foot of the Alps. The ſame hiſtorian will inform you of the "knights of "the ſpoon," an aſſociation of ſome mal-contents, who, being ſurpriſed by the Genevans in one of their country parties eating their ſoup with wooden ſpoons, and being ridiculed by them, ſwore that they would compel their ſcoffers to do the ſame thing. They wore a ſpoon ſuſpended from their neck, as a badge of confraternity. The duke of Savoy gained them over to his intereſt after the Mammelucs: but that order of knighthood paſſed away without producing any conſequences.

A ſource of more dangerous quarrels exiſted among the Genevans. In conſequence of their poſition between France and Switzerland, the opinions which had been diſſeminated in thoſe two countries, ſtopped at Geneva on their way, and there ſo firmly fixed their abode as to cauſe the city to be called the Rome of the reformation. Great care has been taken to preſerve the names of the firſt apoſtles, William Farel and Antony Saunier, who were introduced into Geneva by the agency of the Berneſe, very zealous reformers—and Antony Froment, an amiable and entertaining youth, who, under pretence of teaching to read and write, obtained admittance into families, and

had the talent of insinuating himself into the good opinion of the females.

The magistrates feigned to be displeased with these instructors; but they privately smiled at their success: they banished them, and suffered them to return. The clergy were not satisfied with this equivocal conduct, and armed their zealots. Both parties were now on the point of coming to an engagement, when they were appeased by the mediation of the magistrates. The agreement which took place between them was more favourable to the reformed party, since they were not expelled from the city. Now, to refuse shutting the door against innovators is to throw it open before them, and invite them to enter. Accordingly reformers from all quarters, especially from France where they were persecuted, repaired in crowds to Geneva, and there rendered themselves so powerful, that the bishop, seeing his flock reduced almost to nothing within the city, quitted the place, and removed his chapter to Gex. This circumstance furnished the duke of Savoy with a pretext for endeavouring to take Geneva by surprise, and to render himself master of it, with the sole intention, as he alleged, of re-instating the prelate. But the attempts of the Savoyard princes, which were afterward renewed, have shown that they were labouring for their own advantage more than for that of religion. The bishops transferred their see to Anneci, where it still continues.

Among the preachers come from France, was the famous John Calvin. No ſooner was he arrived than his domineering temper diſplayed itſelf. The diſputes in which he engaged with his brethren reſtored ſome energy to the catholics. The magiſtrates, tired of the quarrels of their new teachers, returned to the old religion, and indiſcriminately baniſhed all the innovators. Calvin withdrew to Straſburg, where he formed a little congregation, very ſubmiſſive admirers of his opinions. On this account he felt great reluctance to quit this dutiful flock, when, on a change in the face of affairs at Geneva, he was re-invited thither in 1539. He now aſſumed abſolute authority over the Genevans, and became as it were the dictator of the republic. Nothing was done without conſulting him. His ſevere diſcipline ſhut up all the taverns, ſuſpended the games and ſports, interrupted the dances, and prohibited theatric entertainments. Conſidered as a politician, Calvin is entitled to praiſe. He maintained a correſpondence with the moſt diſtinguiſhed proteſtants of Europe: and he availed himſelf of the reſpectability conferred on him by his connexions, to attract to Geneva uſeful manufactures and induſtrious artiſans, and conſiderably increaſed the commerce of that city.

It is perhaps in a political light alſo that we are to view Calvin's intolerance. He conceived that a republic of ſo limited extent, and ſo little powerful

by her own reſources, would never be able to ſecure her exiſtence if ſhe contained in her boſom the ſlighteſt germ of religious diſſenſion. Doubtleſs, he judged that no other mean than that of extreme rigor was capable of extirpating that fatal germ. Nevertheleſs, in the execution of Michael Servetus who was burned as an atheiſt, we cannot but diſcover the influence of Calvin's natural temper, which was harſh, ſtubborn, inflexible, as is generally the caſe with devotees. That patriarch of Calviniſm died at Geneva in 1564, with the honour of having not only rendered Geneva the centre of his religion, but alſo prepared there an aſylum for the ſciences in its celebrated college, where he was himſelf a profeſſor, and whence have iſſued many men illuſtrious in the annals of literature.

Subſequent to the concluſion of the ſixteenth century, the dukes of Savoy made frequent attempts againſt Geneva; at one time by conſpiracies plotted in ſilent ſecrecy, at another by the efforts of open force. From the former the Genevans guarded themſelves by ſtrict vigilance—from the latter, by the aſſiſtance which they obtained of Switzerland and France. On ſome occaſions they were of themſelves ſufficient to defend their city, and ſeverely puniſhed the treacherous endeavours to deſtroy their liberty. In 1602, the duke of Savoy endeavoured to take Geneva by eſcalade, and had ſo well planned his meaſures that there

ſeemed not to exiſt a doubt of the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe. It was, however, defeated by a kind of miracle; and the Genevans hanged without mercy, as ſo many robbers, all the ſoldiers and officers who fell into their hands; among whom were ſeveral perſons of diſtinction. Such has, to the preſent day, been the reſult of all thoſe attempts.

The conſtitution of Geneva has undergone conſiderable alterations. On that ſubject more has been written than would be ſufficient for the government of a great kingdom. It may be called ariſtocratic and democratic at the ſame time—ariſtocratic, becauſe the adminiſtration is veſted in two councils compoſed of the members of privileged families—democratic, becauſe thoſe members are choſen and nominated by the people. The laſt regulation which determined the mode of election and fixed the boundaries of the power of the different magiſtrates, was made in 1768, under the guaranty of France and of the Helvetic body.

The Genevan is active, ingenious, fitted for the arts and ſciences. Induſtrious mechanic, phyſician, financier, he is qualified to avail himſelf of every opportunity of gain, in whatever form it appears before him. The republican ſpirit accompanies the Genevans in every ſituation and every period of life. They inſpire it into thoſe whoſe company they frequent: and if they riſe to the poſts of government in kingdoms, they endeavour to give it the aſcendency. Like the Jews, they imbibe the

ſentiments of compatriotiſm with their mothers' milk, and lend each other mutual aid: like them, too, they frequently turn their eyes toward the land of their progenitors, reviſit it with pleaſure, but go to enjoy life elſewhere. In general, the Genevans, though placed between the French and Italians and Switzers, borrow no part of their character from thoſe nations: they form a diſtinct people; and their ſingularity is perhaps not one of the leaſt efficient cauſes of the duration of their republic.

It has recently incorporated itſelf with France, of which it now conſtitutes a part, under the denomination of a "department."

GERMANY. *(Empire.)*

Germany, between France, the German ocean, the Baltic, European Turkey, Italy, and Switzerland.

Of all the countries of Europe, Germany is that which preſents the moſt intereſting and complicated varieties, eſpecially in a political view. It widely differs at preſent from what it was in the days of antiquity. Covered at that time with foreſts, it contained only ſcattered huts, wretched hovels, where promiſcuouſly lodged the inhabitants and their animals; to which have ſucceeded opulent cities crowded with a numerous and poliſhed race of men.

In Germany are found all the climates, all the productions of nature, and their varieties. The Germans are in general vigorous, tall, ſimple, laborious, faithful, courageous, warlike: but at the ſame time they are repreſented as mercenary and

addicted to pillage. They are ſteady in the religion which they have embraced, ſlow in deliberation, conſtant in friendſhip, diſſimulant of their hatred, miſtruſtful, ſuſpicious, paſſionately addicted to the pleaſures of the table, leſs eager for thoſe of love. The women are ſo naturally chaſte, that one would think their chaſtity the effect rather of habit than of virtue.

The Germans are ſucceſsful in the cultivation of the ſciences, as well by their application as by their genius. They diſplay little ſprightlineſs, great patience, and indefatigable induſtry in compilation. They are not ſtrangers to any object of human knowledge. They have univerſities, academies, literary ſocieties; and medicine, botany, ſurgery, metallurgy, are indebted to them for diſcoveries and improvements. In the uſeful arts they oftener perfect the inventions of others than make any new of their own. They are ſteady aſſiduous workmen: nor can the moſt toilſome and tedious labours overcome their courage or their patience. They are not deficient in the agreeable arts of painting and ſculpture: their muſic is eſteemed. The ſituation of Germany in the centre of Europe, and the numerous rivers which waſh its territories, hold out invitations to commerce: but the variety of languages, and the number of petty ſtates whoſe intereſts claſh with each other, ſometimes retard its progreſs.

Germany is called the "Empire," by pre-emi-

nence—and the "Roman Empire," although Rome no longer conſtitute a part of it—and finally the "Germanic Empire." After the conculſions by which Europe was ſhaken at the time of the diſſolution of the Roman empire, that of Germany was not conſolidated, had not its certain boundaries marked, did not introduce regularity into its government, until the commencement of the ſixth century. Till that period, it had, under the form of a monarchy, continued in the hands of the deſcendents of Charlemagne: thenceforward, it has been a federal republic of ſovereigns. Among the great number of ſtates which compoſe it, ſome are more and ſome leſs powerful: others, almoſt imperceptible, are loſt in the crowd, exiſt free only by protection, and are not the leſs happy for being leſs known. Uniformity of religion does not prevail in Germany: the catholic and the proteſtant are the predominant modes of worſhip; but all ſects are found there. The clergy and the nobility are almoſt the ſole landed proprietors in the catholic ſtates. Almoſt every-where the peaſants are ſlaves, or tied down in a ſtate of ſubjection nearly approaching to ſlavery. By a natural conſequence of the degradation of the people, the nobles are imperious, jealous of their prerogatives, infatuated with their birth, great genealogiſts, indefatigable in the chaſe, inexorable in the puniſhment of thoſe intruders who ſhould without their permiſſion dare

to participate that pleaſure which they conſider as an excluſive privilege of their own order.

Since the year 919, the crown has been elective; but the form of election has undergone ſucceſſive variations. The choice is now veſted in nine electors, to the excluſion of all the other princes. The diet of election is held at Francfort, and the coronation ceremony is performed at Aix-la-Chapelle, if circumſtances permit. If the emperor were not otherwiſe a ſovereign in his own right, his power would be very little, ſince not only the electors but nearly all the other princes enjoy in their reſpective territories the rights of ſovereignty without appeal. With reſpect to them, the emperor is only as it were a chief magiſtrate, a guardian of the laws: his chancelleries are their receptacles; and the diets, imperial chambers, and aulic councils, are their organs. Affairs are brought before them with a preciſion of formality which renders their deciſions extremely tedious. If that huge coloſſus were to fall in a maſs on the neighbouring ſtates, it would be capable of cruſhing them: but it is difficult to aſſemble the members of that great body with ſuch harmony and celerity, as not to leave it in the power of its antagoniſts to oppoſe to it a ſufficient reſiſtance, and drive it back into its proper bounds.

The kings of France, ſucceſſors of Charlemagne, enjoyed the right of inheritance until the death of

Louis IV in the year 912, when the empire was loſt to the royal family of France through the weakneſs of Charles the Fat, who, reduced to a narrow domain, was unable to aſſert his claims to Germany. The German princes and nobles, having met at Worms, offered the crown to Otho, duke of Saxony. He declined it on account of his great age: at the ſame time, with uncommon generoſity, he recommended Conrad, duke of Franconia and Heſſe, with whom he was at variance, but whom he conſidered as a prince of merit. Otho's ſuffrage procured for Conrad all the votes. His reign was diſturbed by the diſobedience of ſome nobles, whom he ſubdued—and by the pretenſions of Henry, ſon of the duke of Saxony his benefactor. Their quarrels did not prevent Conrad from acknowledging the merit of that prince in the ſame manner as Otho had acted toward himſelf: for, ſeeing his end approach, he recommended Henry to the aſſembled princes and ſtates, as the fitteſt perſon to ſucceed to the throne. His choice being approved by them, Conrad, without waiting for the hour of death, ſent to Henry, by his own brother, the crown, the ſceptre, the lance, the ſword, and other imperial ornaments.

Conrad, A.D. 912.

Henry was ſurnamed the Fowler, becauſe he was paſſionately fond of hawking. It would have been more proper to give him an appellation indicative of his moderation and conciliatory talents. His moderation induced him to refuſe the

Henry the Fowler, A.D. 919.

honour intended for him by the pope, who offered to crown him at Rome. It would have been neceſſary to conduct a powerful force into Italy, to ſubject its different peoples, who, if not rebellious, were at leaſt intractable: and he deemed it more prudent to employ his troops in eſtabliſhing his authority in Germany. A proof of his talent for conciliation is that he made more uſe of perſuaſion than of arms. His conduct afforded ſo general ſatisfaction that the great men promiſed to ſet his ſon Otho on the throne after his death; and they performed their promiſe. Otho, on his part, gave them no reaſon to repent of their complaiſance. Circumſtances being more favourable to him than they had been to his father, he went to Rome to be crowned, and cauſed his authority to be reſpected, not only in that capital of the Chriſtian world, but likewiſe through all Italy. Otho experienced ſome domeſtic chagrins. At the inſtigation of evil counſellors, his brother Henry and his younger ſon Ludolf revolted againſt him. He conquered and pardoned them. Before his death, he had ſufficient influence to procure the nomination to the empire, and the coronation, of his eldeſt ſon Otho II.

Otho I, A.D. 936.

Otho II. A.D. 973.

The father had been called Otho the Great: the ſon was branded with the title of the Sanguinary, becauſe he was not ſparing of blood whenever he thought himſelf authoriſed to ſhed it. He laviſhly ſpilled that of the Beneventans and Romans, who

had deſerted him in a battle againſt the Saracens. He gave to their deſertion the name of treachery, and ſeverely puniſhed it. His reign was ſpent in wars againſt the Sclavonians, the Danes, the Poles, the Swedes, the Hungarians—all which nations ſtood poſted on the frontiers of Germany, as combatants at the barriers of the liſts, ready to ruſh in ſo ſoon as they are thrown open to them. Otho repreſſed and repulſed thoſe aſſailants. He was imitated by his ſon Otho III, who was ſurnamed the Child, becauſe he aſcended the throne at the age of twelve years. He had a diſſolute wife, who, piqued by the refuſal of a nobleman whom ſhe had ſolicited, accuſed him, on the contrary, of having attempted her honour. The huſband, through want of examination or through precipitancy condemned the ſuppoſed galant to death, and cauſed him to be executed: but, having diſcovered his error, he ordered the calumniatreſs to be burned alive. Reſtored to celibacy, he broke his faith to a widow whom he had ſeduced under a promiſe of marriage. She poiſoned him; and he died young, without poſterity. Otho III, A.D. 985.

He was ſucceeded by Henry duke of Bavaria, who owed his elevation to the ſuffrages of the electors. Under his reign occurs the firſt inſtance of princes being put under the ban of the empire for having refuſed to obey the decrees of the Germanic diet. The wars which he had to ſuſtain ſo wearied his patience that he twice determined to Henry II, A.D. 1002.

abdicate the empire. The first time, he was diverted from his purpose by the solicitations of his subjects: on the second occasion, he carried farther his project of retiring, and resolved to become a monk. The abbot to whom he made application with that view, seemed to assent to his wish, and admitted him as a lay brother on condition that he should obey him in every thing. The emperor having accordingly promised obedience, "Well, "then," said the abbot, "I order you to con-"tinue to hold the reins of the empire." Historians have noticed two anecdotes relative to the empress his wife—the one, that he suspected her of infidelity, and that she purged herself of the imputation by the fiery ordeal—the other, that, on his death-bed, he sent for the princess's relatives, and said to them, "a virgin you gave her to me; "I restore her to you a virgin." It may be doubted whether he owed his title of Saint to his conduct in that instance, or to the liberality of his donations to the church.

Conrad II, A.D. 1024.

Conrad II duke of Franconia succeeded him by election. He was surnamed the Salic, because born on the bank of the river Sala. Having been crowned at Rome, Conrad, with the view of retaining the imperial crown in his family, caused the honour of coronation to be conferred at Aix-

Henry III, A.D. 1040.

la-Chapelle on his son Henry III surnamed the Black. After his father's death, Henry exercised the sovereign authority in Rome: but his power

was reſtricted within very narrow bounds by the dexterity of the famous Hildebrand, who, though yet hooded with the monkiſh cowl, already aſpired to the tiara, and flattered himſelf with the anticipative hope, that, when crowned with that triple diadem, he ſhould make thrones and empires bow beneath his ſway. After having manifeſted his pretenſions under Henry the Black, the ambitious pontif carried them to the utmoſt exceſs under his ſon Henry IV.

This prince, irregular and impetuous in his youth, and thus ruined in character at the outſet, was afterward unable to regain the public eſteem at a maturer age, although he proved himſelf brave in war, a good general, and well verſed in ſtate affairs. Hildebrand, now become pope under the name of Gregory VII, dextrouſly availed himſelf of Henry's unpopularity. Henry IV. A.D.1056.

From the time when great landed eſtates had been annexed to prelacies, the dignitaries, whether appointed by election or otherwiſe—when commiſſioned by the eccleſiaſtic power to exerciſe their ſpiritual functions—were veſted with the temporalities, that is to ſay the enjoyment of the property annexed to the title, by the civil authority. The cuſtom had prevailed that the act of putting them in poſſeſſion of that property ſhould—for the great benefices, ſuch as archbiſhoprics, biſhoprics, and abbeys—be performed by the delivery of the croſs, or croſier, and the ring: that is to ſay, the

prelate elect preſented himſelf before the emperor or other temporal prince, and, either proſtrate or ſtanding, was, at a public audience, honoured with thoſe characteriſtic badges of his dignity, which indicated the plenary enjoyment of his beneficial rights. This was called, "giving" and "receiving the inveſtiture."

Some prelates were pleaſed to conſider this ceremony either as humiliating, or as profaning their ſacred character, by ſubjecting, as they alleged, the ſpiritual to the temporal power. They refuſed to conform to the cuſtom. The emperors maintained it as a prerogative of their crown, ſuſpended the enjoyment of the refractory recuſants, and even prevented it by force of arms. Numerous conteſts aroſe on this ſubject in Italy where the emperors ſtill retained a juriſdiction, and more particularly in Germany. Theſe quarrels uſually terminated to the diſadvantage of the prelates, who either were condemned to pay fines to the treaſury, or, for the ſake of being allowed to take quiet poſſeſſion of the temporalities, made preſents to the emperor and his courtiers. In conſequence of theſe donatives, the prelates who gave and the princes who received them were often accuſed of ſimony active and paſſive.

This imputation, which had been common under the late emperors, was aggravated by the deſigning policy of Gregory VII. On occaſion of the complaints of ſome prelates, whoſe eſtates remained in

the hands of the prince becauſe they had refuſed to ſubmit to the ceremony, the pontif imperiouſly commands Henry to let them enter upon the poſſeſſion and enjoyment,—prohibits him to give the inveſtiture by the croſier and ring, as if it were laying a profane hand on the cenſer,—and alſo forbids the prelates to apply for it. The emperor reclaims againſt this decree, and threatens to ſupport his reclamation by force of arms. The pope excommunicates him. The flame of war blazes forth in every part of Germany, attended by that train of furious exceſſes inſpired by fanaticiſm. The people, tutored by the clergy and ſtunned by the exploſion of the papal thunders, totter in their fidelity. Henry ſees himſelf on the point of being univerſally abandoned, and thinks he can no otherwiſe prevent the election of another emperor than by a ſtep full of humiliation—he convokes the chiefs at Oppenheim, confeſſes in a public aſſembly the irregularities of his youth, requeſts his hearers to forget them, and promiſes to conduct himſelf better in the time to come. The princes are appeaſed: but, as Henry ſtill continued to aſſert his right of inveſtiture, Gregory, from the receſſes of the Vatican, excites new enemies againſt him, and aggravates the ſentence of excommunication. Henry cauſes Gregory to be depoſed, and ſets up an anti-pope in his place: but, being at length really abandoned by all his ſubjects, he is compelled to bend before the haughty pontif, and

perſonally to beg his pardon in the caſtle of Canoſa, with all the humiliating ceremonies of the ancient public penance.

Strange inconſiſtency of the peoples! They had abandoned the emperor becauſe he refuſed to ſubmit to the pope: and, now that he had ſubmitted, ſuch diſguſt was excited by the abject humiliation to which he had conſented, that even the Italians themſelves, among whom he was preſent, revolted againſt him: nor was he able to regain their goodwill except by abjuring, as it were, his repentance. Gregory avenged himſelf by cauſing Rodolf duke of Swabia to be elected emperor. Rodolf was ſlain in battle; and Gregory, expelled from Rome, died at a diſtance from his capital. Henry, however, gained little by that event: Herman count of Luxemburg, whom the pontifical faction ſet up in oppoſition to him, was indeed defeated and killed; but Urban II—a fit ſucceſſor to Gregory VII, after Victor, who in a manner only paſſed over the papal throne—ſtirred up againſt Henry his own ſon Conrad. The emperor thought it a maſter-ſtroke of policy to oppoſe to that unnatural ſon his ſecond ſon Henry, whom he cauſed to be elected king of the Romans. Reſigning himſelf to the hopes which he had conceived of Henry's fidelity, he takes the croſs, prepares for a journey to the holy land, but ſtill continues under the ſentence of excommunication. That younger ſon, more dangerous than Conrad the elder who was now dead,

joined the enemies of his father. At their inſtigation he aſſumed the reins of government under the title of king of the Romans, on pretence that, as his father was excommunicated, the people might with-hold from him their obedience, and that the empire would thus by anarchy be thrown into confuſion.

But ſeveral of the princes refuſed their aſſent to thoſe reaſons of public tranquillity of which the ſon ſtrove to avail himſelf for the purpoſe of invading his father's throne. They united with the emperor; and the king of the Romans, finding his own party too weak, repaired to Coblentz to entreat forgiveneſs of his father, who generouſly pardoned him. But the undutiful rebel had the addreſs to induce the credulous Henry to diſband his army; and, now in turn becoming the ſtronger, he perfidiouſly cauſed his parent to be ſeiſed, and placed him in cloſe confinement in the caſtle of Bingenheim near Mentz. While he there detained him in captivity, he aſſembled a diet of his own partiſans, who by his direction ſolemnly decreed the depoſition of his father. The archbiſhops of Mentz and Cologne were deputed to announce to him the ſentence, and to demand of him the crown and other imperial ornaments.

Aſtoniſhed by ſuch a meſſage, the aged emperor aſked why he was thus treated. In addition to the allegations of miſconduct traced back to his youth, they reproached him with having cauſed a

ſchiſm in the church by the election of an anti-pope, and incurred the guilt of ſimony by the ſale of biſhoprics. "The ſale of biſhoprics!" exclaimed the emperor—"Say, what have I demanded of you for raiſing you to the dignities which you now enjoy? Yet they are the beſt benefices within my diſpoſal. You know that I might have filled my coffers by ſetting them up to ſale: but I gave them to you gratuitouſly. Is it thus you repay my favours? Are you to be ranked among the number of thoſe ingrates who lift their hand againſt their lord and maſter, in contempt of the gratitude which they owe to him? Alas! I begin to ſink under the weight of years and affliction: I am not far from the concluſion of my mortal career: ſuffer me to finiſh in peace the ſhort diſtance which I have yet to travel; and let not a life heretofore glorious be terminated in diſgrace and wretchedneſs."

Unſhaken in their purpoſe, the prelates inſiſt on the emperor's ſuffering them to accompliſh the object of their miſſion in its full extent. He arrays himſelf with his imperial inſignia, places himſelf on a chair of ſtate, and again addreſſes them in the following terms—"Here are the badges of royalty which I have received from God and the princes of the empire. If you ſo far defy the wrath of heaven and the eternal reproaches of mankind as to lay hands on your ſovereign,

" you may forcibly deſpoil me of theſe ornaments:
" I am unable to repel that inſult." Equally unmoved by this as by the preceding harangue, the prelates wreſt from him the crown and ſceptre, oblige him to deſcend from his ſeat, and ſtrip him of his imperial robes, with all the forms of eccleſiaſtic degradation.

During this humiliating tranſaction, the emperor, his eyes bathed with tears, exclaimed, " Great
" God! thou art the God of vengeance, and wilt
" avenge this outrage. I have ſinned, I confeſs—
" and have merited this diſgrace by the follies of
" my youth: but thou wilt not fail to puniſh theſe
" traitors for their perjury, their inſolence, and
" their ingratiude."

Not content with this compulſory abdication, young Henry forced his father to appear in an aſſembly of princes devoted to his intereſts, that he might there obtain of him a reſignation which ſhould have the appearance of being voluntary. The father complied with the deſire of his unnatural ſon, becauſe unable to oppoſe it. He confeſſed his faults as on a former occaſion, and acknowledged that it was with juſtice he was compelled to deſcend from the throne. He begged pardon of all preſent, and, caſting himſelf at the feet of the pope's legate, entreated him to grant him abſolution and releaſe him from the bond of excommunication.—" I have not the power to do it," coolly replied the legate. " That right exclu-

" ſively belongs to the ſovereign pontif."—Perceiving among the crowd Gerard whom he had created biſhop of Spire, Henry requeſted that prelate to grant him, for his ſubſiſtence, a canonicate in his cathedral—that cathedral built and endowed by his anceſtors, and which he had himſelf enriched with munificent donations. " I cannot " grant it to you," ſaid Gerard, " until I have " obtained the pope's permiſſion." At this anſwer, the tears copiouſly guſhed from the eyes of the degraded monarch, who mournfully exclaimed to thoſe around him—" Alas! my dear friends! " alas! have pity on me: I am ſtricken by the " hand of God!"

To complete the meaſure of his misfortunes, he was detained a priſoner by the new emperor. Eſcaping, however, from his confinement, he made his way to Flanders, and there found means to levy an army: but, before he was able to gain any deciſive advantages, he died at Liege within twelve months after his depoſition, and was magnificently interred in the cathedral. But his ſon, with perſevering contempt of filial duty, cauſed his father's remains to be diſinterred on account of his having died under excommunication, and, as a ſpecial favour, allowed them to be depoſited in a ſmall chapel.

Such was the cataſtrophe of that prince worthy of a better fate. He was of a mild diſpoſition, propenſe to clemency, very charitable, and full of

vivacity. Under his misfortunes, nevertheleſs, he became a model of patience and reſignation.—Having once loſt the eſteem of his ſubjects, he never afterward was able to recover it:—a ſtriking example of the influence which the errors of youth ſometimes have on the whole ſucceeding courſe of life.

During the firſt years of his reign, Henry V ſhowed himſelf favourable to the clergy, but without relaxing the imperial pretenſions on the ſubject of inveſtitures. This proved a ſource of diſputes between him and pope Paſchal II. He endeavoured to allure that pontif to a conference in which all their differences were to be adjuſted: but Paſchal, fearing that the invitation was a ſnare laid for him, refuſed to accept it, placed himſelf under the protection of France, and even retired to that country. On receiving ſatisfactory aſſurances, he returned to Italy. Henry followed him thither, having previouſly ſent a magnificent embaſſy which flattered the ſovereign pontif with the hope of an advantageous accommodation. Full of that idea, and in ſome degree awed by the ſuperior force of the emperor, the pope admitted him into Rome. By the treaty that was now concluded, Paſchal ſeemed to conſent to the wiſhes of Henry, but, by underhand machinations, cauſed it to be diſavowed by the Italian prelates, who excited the populace to inſurrection. Without receding from his purpoſe, the emperor, who had Henry V, A.D. 1106.

entered Rome almoſt alone, called in his army: a great carnage enſued; and the pope and cardinals were thrown into priſon. The treaty was then renewed, and the ratification took place at a ſolemn maſs. As a token of reconciliation, the pope divided the hoſt in two, gave one half to Henry, and took the other himſelf. By this agreement the emperor unequivocally obtained the object he had in view reſpecting inveſtitures. As it was only on account of this right, at that time refuſed, that Henry had deprived his father of the honours of eccleſiaſtic ſepulture, he beſtowed on him a magnificent funeral, on his paſſage through Liege.

But the buſineſs was not yet finally ſettled. As ſoon as Henry was known to be at a diſtance from Italy, as many cardinals and biſhops as could be collected, having aſſembled at Rome in council, annulled the treaty by which the right of inveſtiture was placed in the hands of the emperor, and, in addition, excommunicated him. But Paſchal, with-held by the formal ſolemnity which had attended his ratification, had the delicacy to forbear ſigning that ſentence. Henry returned to Italy, ſet up Burdin archbiſhop of Prague as anti-pope, and by his hands was crowned emperor. But, being recalled to Germany by domeſtic diſturbances, he left the unfortunate pretender at the mercy of Paſchal's ſucceſſor Calixtus, who threw him into confinement.

At length, every body being tired of theſe diſputes between the prieſthood and the empire, a ſerious agreement took place. It was determined that the emperors ſhould thenceforward give the inveſtiture of the temporalities, not by the ring and the croſs or croſier, but by preſenting their ſceptre to the prelate elect, who ſhould reſpectfully touch or kiſs it. Thus ended that conteſt which might very well have been accommodated in the ſame manner before it had inundated Italy and Germany with blood. Pretenſions ſo eaſily to be adjuſted would never have cauſed ſo many calamities, if the contending parties had not wanted ſome pretext as a cloke for their ambition and hatred and other paſſions. Henry V did not longer ſurvive that accommodation than three years. He was an able politician: and, if we except his conduct toward his father—unnatural and impious conduct, of which he is ſaid to have afterward repented—he may be ranked among thoſe emperors who have ſhed a luſtre on the diadem.

In his place, the electors choſe Lotharius duke of Saxony. He was oppoſed by two competitors, the defunct emperor's nephews, whom he compelled to relinquiſh their pretenſions. Lotharius re-conquered the Italian domains which had been wreſted from the empire, and was crowned at Rome. Under the reign of his ſucceſſor Conrad, we find the origin of the terms "Guelf" and "Ghibelline," which have been very famous in

Lotharius II, A.D. 1125.

Conrad III, A.D. 1137.

Italy and Germany. If we did not know that men ſometimes fight rather for the name than the ſubſtance, we would be ſurpriſed to view the maſſacres and ravages of which thoſe two words have been the ſignals. Welf, brother of the duke of Bavaria, being engaged in war againſt the emperor and beſieged in the caſtle of Weinſberg, gave his own name "Welf" as the word to his ſoldiers. Frederic duke of Swabia, the emperor's brother and general, gave to his men that of Gibelin, a Swabian village where he had been reared. Thus chance conſecrated thoſe two names as the watch-words of two powerful and bitterly hoſtile factions which continued to exiſt upward of two centuries. The Guelfs uſually took part with the popes, the Ghibellines with the emperors: but it frequently happened that thoſe words changed ſides as it were, or that, without being attached either to the pope or the emperor, great men in their quarrels adopted the names as a mean of reſpectively ſwelling their armies by the acceſſion of the Guelfs and the Ghibellines who were ever ready to fight againſt each other.

In the above-mentioned caſtle of Weinſberg, Welf defended himſelf to the laſt extremity; when, no longer able to reſiſt, he ſent deputies to the emperor. That prince pardoned him, and likewiſe his partiſans who were beſieged with him: but he ordered that nothing valuable ſhould be taken out of the caſtle, except what the women were able to

carry away. Although by the capitulation the men's lives were granted, yet, as the emperor was known to be greatly incenſed againſt them, and there was reaſon to fear ſome ſiniſter interpretation of the articles, the women took their huſbands on their ſhoulders, and walked forth bending under their honourable burdens. Moved by that ſpectacle, the emperor gave favourable treatment both to the loving wives, and to the huſbands who had ſo ſucceſsfully won their affections. No doubt, this ſtriking *trait* rendered the name of Welf famous at the time: and it was perhaps the celebrity of that name which by oppoſition rendered that of Gibelin equally celebrated. It muſt however be acknowledged that great uncertainty prevails reſpecting the origin and application of theſe two names: nor ought we to be ſurpriſed that their acceptation has been very different in Germany and Italy.

At his death, Conrad recommended his nephew Frederic duke of Swabia, who was accordingly elected, and was the ſtock of the houſe of Swabia who occupied the imperial throne. This prince, famous under the name of Barbaroſſa or Red-beard, had alſo another appellation, leſs generally known, but more entitled to notice—that of Father of his country, becauſe he ſhowed great affection for his native land, and an invariable zeal for the glory of the empire. This patriotiſm might naturally be expected to bring him into disfavour

Frederic I, Barbaroſſa, A.D. 1152.

with the popes, who ſtill foſtered pretenſions that could not fail to diſguſt an emperor who was delicate on the point of honour. Accordingly violent conteſts took place between them: they accommodated their differences, quarreled anew, and again made peace. During the peaceful intervals Frederic had amicable interviews with the pope, and cauſed himſelf to be crowned at Rome.

Alexander III at this time filled the pontifical throne. In vain did Frederic ſet up anti-popes in oppoſition to him, and favour ſchiſms in the church: Alexander ſtill prevailed by his excommunications and intrigues. At length thoſe two men, who ſeemed born to thwart each other, came to a pretty ſincere reconciliation. It may be aſked what could have been the cauſe of thoſe diſſenſions, and of their tedious duration: but it is to be recollected that there was no tranſaction in life, no act of government, in which religion was not made to take a part—diſpenſations, marriages, elections laïc or eccleſiaſtic, depoſitions, legitimacy or injuſtice of wars—there was nothing, in ſhort, which the church did not conſider as belonging to her juriſdiction, becauſe ſhe was called upon to ſanction the conditions by oaths pronounced in the churches or over the reliques of ſaints. The popes, therefore, and the biſhops, thought themſelves entitled to decide in every caſe, and to puniſh by excommunication all thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to their deciſions.

Frederic was alſo embroiled with Alexander's ſucceſſors: but they gave him leſs uneaſineſs than he had experienced from that pontif. It is to be remarked, that, in their time, he reſumed the rights of ſovereignty within the patrimony of Saint Peter.

He bent nevertheleſs before Gregory VIII in a conference which he had with him at Venice, and which, according to ſome hiſtorians, was attended with circumſtances of humiliation. We are not certainly informed whether it was in performance of a penance inflicted on him by the pope, or through ſpontaneous zeal, that Frederic engaged in a cruſade at the age of ſeventy years. He obſerved great regularity in his preparations, being reſolved perſonally to take the command of the expedition. As the ſuperabundance of numbers had, in former enterpriſes of this kind, been found rather detrimental than uſeful, he prohibited the enrolment of any perſon whoſe circumſtances could not afford the expenditure of three marks of ſilver. The emperor began his expedition in a brilliant manner: he defeated the Turks in ſeveral engagements; and his ſucceſſes inſpired the Chriſtians with the moſt ſanguine hopes. But the river Cydnus, which had nearly been fatal to Alexander the Great, proved completely ſo to Frederic, who, bathing in it, was ſwept away by the current, and drowned. Perhaps that ſudden death came ſeaſonably to exempt him from the mortification of thoſe reverſes which ſucceeded the victories of the

princes who entered that famous career of the cruſades.

Previouſly to his departure, the provident Frederic had regulated the ſucceſſion in Germany, and cauſed his ſon Henry to be crowned king of the Romans, ſo that he ſucceeded his father by right. A competitor—Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony—gave him ſome uneaſineſs: but he compelled him to ſubmiſſion, and cauſed himſelf to be crowned at Rome with the empreſs Conſtantia his wife. Armed with the claims of that princeſs who was heireſs to the crowns of Naples and Sicily, he made war upon Tancred who had ſeiſed them. Conſtantia, at the age of near fifty years, became pregnant. To remove all ſuſpicion of impoſture, ſhe was delivered of a ſon under a tent in an open field near Palermo, in preſence of a multitude of people. That prince—who, like his grand-father, was called Frederic—came into the world under the moſt happy auſpices, being deſtined from the moment of his birth to wear the crown of Naples, and created king of the Romans while yet in the cradle.

Henry VI, A.D. 1190.

That creation took place in an aſſembly of the princes convoked by Henry. He laboured to prove to them that the only mean of preventing thoſe wars to which the elections gave riſe was to render the imperial dignity hereditary in his family. They appeared to be convinced by his reaſoning: but in fact they gave their aſſent to his plan rather

through fear than conviction. Henry paid much greater attention to Italy where he had acquired ſo ſplendid a crown, than to Germany. This prince has been branded with the charge of avarice; in proof of which, he is ſaid to have ſhared with the duke of Auſtria the ranſom paid by Richard I, king of England, whom the duke had cauſed to be arreſted while that monarch was paſſing through Auſtria on his return from a cruſade. Henry VI is alſo accuſed of cruelty on account of the rigorous puniſhments which he inflicted on the partiſans of Tancred. For that conduct the German hiſtorians have given him the milder name of the Severe; but thoſe of Naples uniformly deſignate him by that of the Cruel. As to the other features of his character, he was prudent, penetrating, eloquent, active, and brave.

At his death he nominated his brother Philip as guardian to his ſon. But pope Innocent III, a ſworn enemy to the houſe of Swabia, cauſed Otho duke of Saxony to be elected king of the Romans. The Swabian party alſo, for the purpoſe of giving greater authority to young Frederic's guardian, conferred that dignity on Philip himſelf. Thus three kings of the Romans were ſeen at the ſame time. The firſt—Frederic, not yet out of his cradle—long continued to be nothing more than a ſhadow. Otho, the pope's favourite, made a conſpicuous figure through the protection of his uncle Richard I, king of England: and, ſince the Engliſh

Philip, A.D. 1193.

Otho IV, A.D. 1208.

monarch ſupported one competitor, the king of France thought it neceſſary to ſupport another in oppoſition—Philip the guardian, who moreover derived great aſſiſtance from Italy, where he was all-powerful through the means of his young ward Frederic, king of Naples.

The pope excommunicated Philip, who nevertheleſs gained over many princes, and cauſed himſelf to be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. Otho relinquiſhed the field of conteſt, and took refuge in England. When Philip was on the point of coming to a reconciliation with the pope, he was aſſaſſinated. Otho, who had before that event returned from England and again raiſed the ſtandard of oppoſition againſt Philip, had no participation in the crime. Accordingly the friends of the deceaſed, being convinced of his innocence, readily joined his party. To conciliate as far as poſſible the jarring intereſts, he married the daughter of his defunct rival, and was crowned at Rome.

But a new competitor aroſe againſt him. Frederic—that prince who had been crowned in the cradle, and had ſo lately laid aſide the dreſs of infancy—advanced his claim to the ſceptre which his father had borne. The German princes, ſhowing themſelves, equally with Fortune, the friends of youth, gave him the preference over Otho, who was advanced in years and a devotee. The latter made no very violent ſtruggle againſt a protection ſo openly declared, but retired to Brunſwick, where

he yet lived four years, conſecrating all his moments to the duties of religion. Thoſe two rivals, Philip and Otho, had each his peculiar virtues: all thoſe of Otho were in a manner ſwallowed up by his piety: but that virtue, though poſſeſſed alſo by Philip, did not prevent the world from obſerving that he united with it other good qualities, prudence, affability, mildneſs, eloquence, liberality, and intrepidity.

Frederic II, nephew to Philip, had in his own family ſtriking examples for his imitation. He chiefly propoſed to himſelf that of his grand-father Frederic I. Like him, he had violent quarrels with the popes, was repeatedly excommunicated and reconciled, created anti-popes, ſupported them, abandoned them, and was alſo crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle and Rome. At length he put on the croſs, and undertook an expedition to the holy land. In this, however, he appears to have not acted voluntarily: for, when arrived on the ſea-coaſt, he deferred his embarkation under various pretexts, till, compelled by the pope's menaces, he at length ſet ſail. But, hardly out of ſight of the port, he was attacked by a tempeſt, which ſerved him as an excuſe for returning. Hereupon the pontif excommunicated him; and now he ſeriouſly proceeded to ſea. His docility, however, did not obtain for him an abſolution from the anathema. Smitten as he was with the papal thunder, the cruſaders of the holy land refuſed to acknowledge

Fred-ric II, A.D. 1215.

or obey him as their chief. He was therefore obliged to communicate his commands through the organs of his lieutenants, as if not emanating from himſelf. In conſequence of this ſtate of things, he did not long remain there, but, embracing ſome propoſitions made by the Saracens, concluded with them a treaty, and returned to his own dominions.

He arrived there ſoon enough to find cauſes of domeſtic chagrin. His eldeſt ſon Henry was convicted of revolt, was ſhut up in priſon, and died in confinement. He procured the election of his ſecond ſon Conrad as king of the Romans: but Innocent IV, being extremely diſſatisfied with the emperor's conduct in the holy land, and diſpleaſed to ſee the family of Swabia on the imperial throne, not only cauſed that election to be annulled in the council of Lyons in 1245, but alſo obtained the nomination of Henry landgrave of Thuringia in Conrad's ſtead, and procured the ſentence of depoſition againſt the emperor himſelf. Henry did not perſonally attend the council. On hearing the news of thoſe tranſactions, he preſſed the crown upon his head, as if to fix it firmly in its place, ſaying, "Before that depoſition, I was obedient to "the pope and to the laws of the church: but, "now that he has releaſed me from my duty in "that particular, I no longer owe him either "obedience or reſpect, and will continue to be "emperor in ſpite of him."

In effect, he ſupported his dignity both againſt

the landgrave of Thuringia, and againſt William count of Holland, on whom the pope conferred the crown of the Romans after the deceaſe of the landgrave Henry. Henry ſtruggled with conſiderable perſeverance againſt the embarraſſments which the ſovereign pontif inceſſantly threw in his way: but his patience being at length exhauſted by ſeeing that he no ſooner extricated himſelf from one difficulty than he was involved in another, he quitted Germany, and retired to his kingdom of Naples, leaving to his ſon Conrad the taſk of untying the Gordian knot which himſelf had been unable to looſe. Frederic died of a fever. It is thought, that, if he had not been haraſſed by wars and intrigues, he would have rendered very uſeful ſervices to Germany. But, notwithſtanding that impediment, he eſtabliſhed there as many wiſe laws as he could. He was endowed with an extenſive capacity, and had great talents for government. He underſtood ſix languages, and poſſeſſed the ſciences fit for a ſovereign, in the manner that it becomes a ſovereign to be acquainted with them. With great courage and ſtrength of mind he unfortunately united too much violence and cruelty in his vengeances. His exceſſive love of women caſt a ſtain upon his reputation. He made it a fundamental maxim of his conduct never to poſtpone to the morrow what he could accompliſh in the current day.

After his deſertion, dreadful diſturbances pre-

vailed in Germany; and his death was followed by a long interregnum. Each prince was at war with his neighbour: the neareſt relatives, regardleſs of the ties of conſanguinity, mutually fired each other's caſtles, pillaged each other's vaſſals, and deſtroyed each other's families: the people were oppreſſed by the nobles: the ſoldiery committed the greateſt diſorders; and the chiefs, unable to pay their troops, were obliged to connive at theſe violent proceedings. During this interregnum the empire ſuffered all the calamities of a country groaning under the infliction of every poſſible ſcourge. In vain the princes convoked aſſemblies to remedy theſe evils. As there exiſted no ſovereign authority to fix the objects of deliberation among the aſſembled members, who thought themſelves equal in merit and uſually were ſo in point of birth and power, the diets waſted their time in unavailing debates, and were ſometimes terminated by ſanguinary combats.

The interregnum proved advantageous to ſeveral cities as well of Italy as of Germany. They erected themſelves into republics, and aſſumed the title of "free cities," becauſe they governed themſelves by their own laws. The greater number of them remained iſolated, maintaining no connexion with each other. It is this circumſtance that gave birth to thoſe petty republics of Italy which are confined to a ſingle territory more or leſs extenſive: but in the north of Germany an aſſociation

of towns was formed, which, from the word *hanſe* (union), were called the *hanſeatic* towns. The intereſts of commerce, mutual ſafety, the freedom of the neighbouring roads and ſeas, were the principal objects of their confederation: they had a common council to treat of them, with a treaſury, troops, and ſhips, at the ſervice of the league. Seventy or eighty towns of Germany, of the North, and of the Low Countries, entered into that alliance, and acknowledged as their chiefs Lubeck, Brunſwick, Dantzig, and Cologne.

The *Teutonic hanſe*, as it has likewiſe been called, did not acquire the ſplendor and power by which it afterward became famous, until toward the year 1370, about a hundred years from the period of its origin. The interregnum of which we have ſpoken happened very opportunely for the formation of that eſtabliſhment, which could not have acquired the neceſſary ſolidity if thoſe towns had been impeded by the vigilance of the emperors. When thoſe princes afterward, on recovering their authority, attempted to examine the privileges which the hanſeatic towns had aſſumed, and ſeemed diſpoſed to revoke them, the confederacy defended their cauſe with the eloquence of gold; and that all-powerful metal, which ſmooths every difficulty, taught the emperors to view the aſſociation as no longer dangerous. The free cities of Italy employed the ſame convincing argument. Indeed the emperors themſelves offered to leave

them free in conſideration of pecuniary acknowledgements; and, in many inſtances, the conteſt was only reſpecting the amount. Rodolf, who put an end to the interregnum, publicly made bargains of that kind, and ſent his chancellor into Italy to conclude them, and to receive the ſtipulated ſums.

The empire had continued during ſeventeen years without a head, if we calculate the interregnum from the abdication of Richard of Cornwall, who enjoyed the title of emperor ſix years: but, if we conſider the real duration of the anarchy, it laſted twenty-three years. At the concluſion of that period, Gregory X, affected by the ſufferings of Germany, threatened the princes, that, unleſs they ſpeedily elected an emperor, he would himſelf perform the taſk in their ſtead. They aſſembled in diet at Francfort; when, notwithſtanding the dangers that environed the imperial crown, its ſplendor ſtill excited the wiſhes and the efforts of ambition. Of the candidates ſome diſplayed their riches, while others valued themſelves on their vaſt domains, and the power which was annexed to them. Theſe, they ſaid, were the moſt efficacious means of reſtoring to the empire its priſtine luſtre. But the wiſer part of the electors were of opinion that ſo deſirable an object would be much better accompliſhed by a valiant and prudent and experienced prince, than by another whoſe chief recommendations were his

opulence and power. With that hope, and as answering the desired description, they elected Rodolf, count of Hapsburg. Rodolf, A D. 1273.

Rodolf had been educated at the court of Frederic II, where he had rendered himself sufficiently conspicuous by his great qualities to become an object of jealousy. He retired to the court of Bohemia, where he obtained honourable employment —and thence to upper Germany, where lay his patrimonial estates. By exercising a kind of police over the great men who for the most part usurped a tyrannic authority in the cantons now occupied by the Switzers, he acquired in those parts a well-merited reputation for justice and valour. He there enjoyed the empire of virtue, when he was invited to that of power over all Germany. He immediately repaired to Francfort, and thence to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he received the imperial crown.

The first object of his care was to put a stop to those rapines, robberies, and murders, which had so long continued to be committed with impunity. In Thuringia alone he demolished sixty castles which served as lurking-places to the banditi; and in a short time security and peace were everywhere re-established. Pursuant to the hopes which had been conceived of him, he did not suffer the majesty of the empire to be violated by the disobedience, not only of the vassals, but even of the princes who were members of it, though decorated

with the honours of the diadem. Ottocarus king of Bohemia, who had formerly given him an afylum, refufed to do homage to a man who had once been an officer in his court. Rodolf infifted on that token of fubjection, and even took care, contrary to the wifhes of Ottocarus, that it fhould be public. The king of Bohemia lowered his pretenfions to the bare requeft of permiffion to pay the homage in a clofed pavillion: but, at the moment of the ceremony, the curtains of the pavillion fuddenly fell to the ground, and difcovered the monarch at the feet of his liege-lord.

Rodolf maintained his ground with the popes by a dextrous policy, not living with them on terms either of intimacy or coolnefs. At an interview which he had with Gregory X, he promifed to take the crofs, and to repair to Rome for the purpofe of there receiving the imperial crown: but he fo fucceffully won the pontif by the honours which he heaped upon him, that he was enabled without rifque to difpenfe with the performance of both thefe engagements. Notwithftanding thofe refpectful attentions to the pope, he did not lofe fight of his pretenfions to Italy. He fent his chancellor, as we have already obferved, to treat with the cities refpecting their enfranchifement, which he fold to them as at high a price as he could; preferring the receipt of their money to the alternative of making war upon them.

Befides other iffue, Rodolf had fix beautiful

daughters, by means of whom he contracted alliances which procured great ſtates and kingdoms for his poſterity. In him began the good fortune of the houſe of Auſtria, of which he was the founder—a good fortune which called forth the obſervation of a poet, "that Venus was even more "favourable to them than Mars." But, ſucceſsful as he was in his other undertakings, he carried with him to his grave the mortification of being unable to obtain of the electors the nomination of his eldeſt ſon Albert duke of Auſtria, as his ſucceſſor on the imperial throne. Rodolf was chearful, frank, obliging, ſimple in his dreſs, and freely indulgent of raillery.

Notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of Albert after his father's deceaſe, Adolf count of Naſſau was the candidate who gained the ſuffrages of the electors. But he proved himſelf unworthy of their choice: he injudiciouſly attacked the princes of the empire; and his ill ſucceſs brought him into diſcredit. His conduct was in other reſpects very reprehenſible: he was reproached in the open diet with having degraded the empire by ſuffering its rights to be loſt, of arrogantly ſetting up his own will as a ſupreme law, of greedily levying contributions on the nobles and the people, of violating his promiſes, of conniving at acts of depredation and participating the ſpoil. He was further accuſed of ſhameful and barbarous exceſſes, of having raviſhed maidens, wives, widows, and even nuns, and having put

Adolf of Naſſau, A.D. 1292.

ſome of them to death after the gratification of his brutal deſires. There was not an individual preſent at that diet who dared or deigned to defend him. He was depoſed, and Albert elected in his ſtead. The two rivals took the field and fought each other. They ſoon met, and fought in the midſt of their ſoldiers, like two champions within the liſts. Adolf was defeated and ſlain.

An unfortunate prince is ever in the wrong. Adolf was dead, and his memory remained branded with infamy. His ſucceſſor Albert would not ſuffer his remains to be depoſited in the ſepulture of the emperors. With reſpect to Albert's own concerns, he cauſed himſelf to be elected a-new, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. For the performance of that ceremony, he requeſted the conſent of pope Boniface VIII, which he did not obtain without long and repeated ſupplications. The proud Albert, who has been ſurnamed the Triumphant, was compelled to bend to all the ſubmiſſions which the pope demanded of him. According to the practice of many great men who indemnify themſelves at the expenſe of their inferiors for the humiliations which themſelves are conſtrained to endure, the Auſtrian made his ſubjects feel the entire weight of his pride. His imperious manner, his inflexible adherence to reſolutions once adopted, and the ſternneſs of his character, deprived him of the confidence of the Switzers of whom his father Rodolf had ſo ſucceſsfully gained

Albert I, A.D. 1298.

the affection, and prepared the way for that revolution which wreſted Switzerland from the houſe of Auſtria.

Beſides three daughters, Albert had ſix ſons—ſix ſons to provide for! a powerful incentive to the invaſion of whatever ſuited his purpoſe. The property of his neareſt relatives did not eſcape his avidity, a vice which at length coſt him his life. Being guardian to his nephew John, ſon of his brother Adolf duke of Swabia, he had ſeiſed on ſome caſtles which ſtood advantageouſly ſituated for him. The nephew reclaimed his patrimony: the uncle returned evaſive anſwers which ſufficiently indicated that he had no deſign of making reſtitution. John, taking it for granted, aſſociated with himſelf three confederates, with whom he ſurpriſed Albert in a lonely place, and killed him. One of the murderers, being taken on the ſpot, was puniſhed with a cruel and ignominious death: John and another of the number lingered out a tedious life of humiliation in monaſtic retirement: the fourth, concealed in the garb of a herdſman, lived thirty-five years in a village, employed in tending cattle, and did not diſcover himſelf till ſtretched on his death-bed. What a life for a courtier educated in the midſt of elegance and luxury! and of what will not the fear of death render a man capable!

It is ſaid that Albert's character was marked with brutality, and that his look alone inſpired

terror. Theſe faults are not incompatible with the qualities attributed to him—great courage, dexterity in negotiation, an excellent judgement, and a ſtrict adherence to truth. But extreme avarice and inſatiable avidity counterbalanced his virtues and talents. He equally deteſted flattery and ſlander. Three deſcriptions of perſons, he ſaid, particularly engaged his reſpect—chaſte women, brave men, and pious eccleſiaſtics.

It will not appear ſurpriſing that the eldeſt of Albert's ſons made efforts to obtain the crown. But they proved fruitleſs, becauſe Philip the Fair, king of France, placed himſelf on the liſt of candidates; not, however, that he was himſelf ſucceſsful; but his competition haſtened the election of another. The French monarch was on his way to Avignon to requeſt Clement V to determine the ſuffrages in his favour. The pontif, pre-informed of Philip's intention, reflected that a king of France, ſeated on the imperial throne, might probably revive the claims of his predeceſſors to the ſtates of Italy, and be able to enforce them. He therefore wrote to the electors to bring the conteſt between the competitors to a ſpeedy concluſion: and, that neither might have reaſon to complain of a preference given to the other, the choice fell on Henry duke of Luxemburg who was then at Aix-la-Chapelle; and he was immediately crowned.

Henry VII, A.D. 1308.

His reign was little more than as it were a

party of pleaſure to Italy. He went thither at the requeſt of the pope, who imagined that the preſence of an emperor at Rome might re-eſtabliſh there the papal authority, which had been nearly annihilated by the reſidence of the pontifs at Avignon. Henry made pompous entries into the great cities, extorted from them ſums of money, but teſtified little ſolicitude to exerciſe over them a permanent authority. Even at Rome, when admitted into one half of the city, he did not take the trouble of procuring himſelf admiſſion into the other which was poſſeſſed by the Guelfs, at that time oppoſed to the emperors. Not being able to penetrate to the church of Saint Peter, he cauſed himſelf to be crowned in that of Saint John of Lateran, without the walls. But not having beſtowed on the Romans the uſual largeſſes, he became the object of their ſcoffs; and a popular commotion enſued, in which the Germans were worſted. Henry died in Italy. He was juſt, affable, and fond of ſhow.

Conteſts ſimilar to thoſe which had preceded the nomination of Henry VII took place, after his death, between two couſin-germans, Lewis of Bavaria and Frederic of Auſtria, both grand-ſons of Rodolf of Hapſburg. Each of theſe rivals was elected and aſſumed the diadem: but, after ſeveral combats, Lewis became maſter of the throne. Lewis IV. A.D. 1314. This ſeaſon of quarrels was a favourable moment for pope John XXII, who availed himſelf of it to

gain poſſeſſion of ſeveral domains, or, in the language of the bulls, to recover them. When the emperor attempted to complain on the ſubject, the pontif exclaimed in a louder tone, and reproached him with uſurpations. Lewis replied, and recriminated. The quarrel was for ſome time confined to writing: but, at length, the emperor, exaſperated by threats and anathemas, ſwore that he would obtain ſatisfaction.

He marched to Rome, ſet up there an anti-pope, from whoſe hands he received coronation. John had fought ſafety in flight: the emperor cauſed him to be degraded and condemned to death as a heretic and a deſerter of his flock. John excommunicated the anti-pope, and intrigued with ſuch ſucceſs that he compelled the emperor to withdraw from Italy. The pontif died while meditating new plans of vengeance againſt that prince. Lewis now fancied himſelf ſecure from danger, hoping to experience more friendly treatment from Benedict XII to whom he ſent a ſubmiſſive embaſſy. But his advances were received with coldneſs. To coldneſs Clement VI even added diſdain: and if he did not raiſe an antagoniſt to oppoſe Lewis, he ſupported the revolt of ſeveral German princes, who depoſed him, and elected Charles of Luxemburg in his ſtead. The pope gave vigor to the rebellion by excommunicating the degraded emperor and his adherents. Lewis was preparing to avenge theſe wrongs,

when he loſt his life by a fall from his horſe. He was fond of tournaments. Although capable of planning his meaſures without aſſiſtance, he willingly ſought the aid of counſel. His diſpoſition was chearful, and his manners poliſhed. Notwithſtanding the excommunications with which he was loaded, he received the title of Moſt Chriſtian.

The houſe of Luxemburg again croſſed that of Auſtria on the imperial throne. Charles IV was grand-ſon of Henry VII, and king of Bohemia in his mother's right. He had been educated at the court of the French monarch Charles the Fair, and ever teſtified a much ſtronger attachment to Bohemia than to the empire. Notwithſtanding the rights which he derived from the depoſition and death of Lewis and his own election, two competitors aroſe. Charles did not, like his predeceſſors, remove them by force of arms but by money; that is to ſay, by the payment of conſiderable ſums he prevailed on them to deſiſt from their pretenſions. Deviating in another inſtance alſo from the plans of preceding emperors, he conciliated the friendſhip of the popes by condeſcenſions which ſometimes excited the murmurs of the Germans, who ſenſibly felt for the honour of the empire. Even the Italians were not much pleaſed with his conduct: and they ſhowed him ſomething worſe than indifference in a journey which he made to Italy. The popes at this time continued to ſit at Avignon. It was only by

Charles IV, A.D. 1348.

means of a proceſſion from his camp, where he left all his troops, that Charles publicly entered the city of Rome, where he was crowned. On other occaſions he was not allowed to appear there with the imperial pomp: and it was with the utmoſt privacy of diſguiſe, and accompanied only by a few of his lords, that he was permitted during the holy week to viſit the churches for the ſake of gaining the uſual indulgences.

This conſtraint muſt have been painful to Charles, who delighted in ceremony. In 1356 he preſented to the diet of Nuremberg, and cauſed them to accept, the famous golden bull, which regulates the number and rank and functions of the electors, and the form which has ever ſince been obſerved in the elections of the emperors, with only ſome exceptions ariſing from particular circumſtances. Charles enjoyed the pleaſure of ſeeing the ceremonial which he had preſcribed reduced to practice under his own inſpection.

During a ſolemn maſs, he cauſed himſelf and his empreſs to be crowned according to the new rites, in a general aſſembly convoked at Metz. In the middle of the market-place roſe a magnificent ſtage loaded with all the apparatus of a ſumptuous banquet. Charles preſented himſelf with his conſort. Before him gravely advanced, on palfreys, the archbiſhops of Mentz and Triers and Cologne, high-chancellors of Germany and Gaul and Italy, each having the ſeal depending from his neck, and

a letter in his hand. From the fartheſt part of the market-place came up at full gallop the duke of Saxony, chief marſhal, carrying a meaſure of oats. As it was alſo his province to regulate precedency, he alighted, and aſſigned to each his proper ſtation. The marquis of Brandenburg, grand maſter of the palace, poured out water for the emperor and empreſs to waſh. The count palatine placed the diſhes on the table; and the duke of Luxemburg, repreſentative of the king of Bohemia in the office of chief butler, poured out wine for their majeſties to drink. The marquis of Miſnia and the count of Schwartzenburg, as chief huntſmen, advancing to the ſound of the horn, exhibited, during the repaſt, the ſpectacle of the death of a ſtag and a bear; and the entertainment concluded with magnificent preſents diſtributed by the emperor to all the gueſts.

If we except that celebrated bull, and ſome wiſe regulations for which Charles IV is juſtly entitled to our applauſe, we muſt acknowledge that he took no great intereſt in the empire. The princes, who were convoked on occaſion of the baptiſm of his ſon, thought proper to reproach him with his neglect. They repreſented to him that he ought to have aſſembled diets, and viſited the provinces to eſtabliſh order in them. He ſimply aſked them in reply, "Do you think that I am bound to em- "ploy the revenues of the houſe of Bohemia in "defraying the expenſes of your emperor, and

" enhancing the ſplendor of his dignity?" This was a clear intimation, that, if they wiſhed to ſee their chief more attentive and more devoted to their intereſts, they muſt grant him a more liberal eſtabliſhment. In effect, that which the German diet allows to the emperor is ſo inconſiderable, that, if he had not a reſource in his perſonal property, it would be impoſſible for him to ſupport his dignity.

But Charles knew how to indemnify himſelf. Privileges of cities, rights of burgherſhip, enfranchiſements, honours, favours, employments, every thing was with him an article of ſale. But, on the other hand, he gave as freely as he received. He was principally liberal in grants of territory to the popes: whence, with alluſion to the great ſums which he had given to his competitors as the price of their renouncing their pretenſions, it was ſaid, that he had " purchaſed the empire by wholeſale, " and retailed it out at a loſs." But, notwithſtanding this conduct, he ſucceeded in procuring the election of his ſon Wenceſlaus as king of the Romans. Charles undertook, before his death, a journey to France, for the ſole pleaſure of reviſiting a country for which he had ever entertained an affection. Great pains had there been beſtowed on his education. He ſpoke five languages. This prince was bleſt with either extraordinary good fortune or uncommon abilities: for every thing ſucceeded well with him. In recalling to mind his bargains

to obtain the empire, and his ſubſequent ſales, we may obſerve that the means he employed were not always very honourable: but at leaſt we cannot reproach him with the adoption of any that were cruel or odious.

His ſon Wenceſlaus imitated him in his careleſs inattention to the empire. He reſided for ſome time at Aix-la-Chapelle, becauſe the plague raged in Bohemia: but, as ſoon as its ravages had ceaſed, he went to that country, and there ſettled himſelf. During his abſence the empire was diſturbed by an infinite train of diſorders, to which he contributed by his own conduct, ſurpaſſing his father in the ſale of every kind of privileges, even to the iſſuing of blank patents ſigned and ſealed, ready to be filled up at the will of the purchaſers. The electors and other princes, imagining that if they could retain him among them, they ſhould be able to reclaim him from that pernicious avidity, ſent an embaſſy to him at Prague to requeſt that he would come and reſide in the empire. He anſwered, "Our dear embaſſadors! all the world "know that the emperor is here. If there be "any one in Germany who wiſhes to ſee him, "he may come to Bohemia; and we will freely "give him audience." They returned with this anſwer, which has all the appearance of a mockery, and which made the princes adopt the reſolution of governing themſelves. The empire may

Wenceſlaus, A.D. 1370.

be ſaid to have remained deſtitute of a chief during the ſpace of twenty-two years.

How was Wenceſlaus employed during that interval? He paſſed through every trial to which the inconſtancy and caprice of fortune can ſubject a monarch. He was twice poiſoned, though we cannot aſſign any other cauſe for thoſe criminal attempts againſt his life than the fear inſpired by his too notorious vices and evil diſpoſitions. The aid of medicine ſaved his exiſtence, but left him affected with a heat and thirſt which he was obliged to allay by frequent drinking. Thus he contracted the habit of drunkenneſs, which at times inflamed him to ſuch a degree of fury that it was dangerous to be near him. Indeed his diſorders muſt have ariſen from a cauſe which entitled him to compaſſion, ſince he found friends and protectors even among the princes of the empire, notwithſtanding the ſhameful debaucheries by which he ſullied himſelf, and his horrible acts of cruelty. In the liſt of theſe latter, it is mentioned that he cauſed a cook to be roaſted alive for having ill prepared a diſh of meat—condemned to death his wife's confeſſor for having refuſed to reveal her confeſſion—and cauſed to be beheaded in a ſingle day, and without the formality of a trial, all the magiſtrates of the chief tribunal at Prague.

Theſe dangerous alienations of mind were for

ſome time tolerated: but the public patience was at length exhauſted; and the Bohemian nobles, with the conſent of his brother Sigiſmund king of Hungary, cauſed Wenceſlaus to be ſhut up and detained in cuſtody. After a pretty rigorous confinement of ſixteen months, the unfortunate prince obtained permiſſion from the ſenate to be conducted to the river to bathe. He there perceived a boat, into which he threw himſelf with a woman who had been appointed to attend him. They arrived naked on the oppoſite bank, at a fortreſs which he had prudently erected to ſerve him as an aſylum in any caſe of emergency. From that ſtrong-hold he treated with his ſubjects: he was allowed to reſume the reins of government: but he managed them ſo ill notwithſtanding his fair promiſes, that his brother Sigiſmund, invited by the general wiſh, came from Hungary, was declared regent, and cauſed Wenceſlaus to be confined in a caſtle.

The priſoner again eſcaped, and under circumſtances ſo favourable that he again recovered his authority. He even acted in the ſequel an important part in public affairs—aſſiſted at ſeveral diets of the empire—and laboured, not without capacity, to heal the great weſtern ſchiſm. It is worthy of remark, that, in a viſit to France, Wenceſlaus acquitted himſelf in ſuch manner as to gain the applauſe of the whole nation, whoſe ſuffrages are not eaſily won in favour of a foreign prince.

But he continued to ſell every thing in Germany, to everturn every thing by his miſconduct; and at length he was depoſed. "I thank providence "for the event," ſaid he: "I ſhall have the "more leiſure to govern my kingdom of Bohe- "mia." In effect, as his paſſions were now cooled by age, he conducted himſelf there with tolerable propriety.

The perſon elected as his ſucceſſor in the empire was Frederic duke of Brunſwick, who was almoſt immediately aſſaſſinated by a ſecret enemy, and ſucceeded by Robert, count palatine. Some cities retained their allegiance to Wenceſlaus; and Aix-la-Chapelle ſuffered herſelf to be put under the ban of the empire rather than admit his rival within her walls. The citizens of Nuremberg contrived to reconcile their intereſt with their conſcience: in conſideration of a valuable preſent of wine, Wenceſlaus releaſed them from their oath of fidelity; and they ſwore allegiance to Robert. The new emperor had to reſiſt the interference of the Hungarian and Bohemian nobles and of the king of France in favour of the depoſed monarch: but their efforts did not proceed farther than remonſtrances.

Robert, A.D. 1400.

The reign of Robert was more diſtinguiſhed by juſtice and clemency than conſpicuous for martial exploits. He was fond of literature, and endowed with great penetration. The only blot in his character was too ardent a love of money.

After his deceaſe, Joſſe marquis of Moravia was regularly elected: but his promotion was oppoſed by Sigiſmund king of Hungary, brother to Wenceſlaus. Joſſe died three months after his coronation, and had been acknowledged in very few places. Joſſe, A.D. 1409.

When Sigiſmund mounted the imperial throne, he was already poſſeſſed of experience acquired on that of Hungary, which he enjoyed in right of his wife. He had felt the viciſſitudes of good and evil fortune; having been compelled to flee from his kingdom, and recalled—been thrown into priſon for the exceſſive rigor of his vengeances, and again reſtored to liberty. He made ſo good uſe of it in the government of Hungary, that the ſtates of the empire, ſtanding in need of an able chief, placed him at their head. The diſturbances excited by religion involved him in conſiderable embarraſſments. With the view of appeaſing thoſe troubles, he concurred with pope John XXII in convoking the council of Conſtance. Theſe two momentous concerns became the ſubjects of deliberation—the meaſures to be adopted for definitively terminating the great ſchiſm, and the means of ſtopping the progreſs of the hereſy of the Huſſites. Sigiſmund, A.D. 1410.

John Huſs, the chief of that ſect, was a profeſſor in the univerſity of Prague, where he diſſeminated an obnoxious doctrine derived from the writings of Wickliffe, principal of a college in Oxford. That Engliſh reformer, diſdaining to

confine his hoſtilities to particular parts of the Romiſh belief, attacked in one general maſs the infallibility and ſupremacy of the pope, the temporal power and riches of the clergy, the mendicant orders, auricular confeſſion, the myſtery of tranſubſtantiation, not forgetting to ſtrike a paſſing blow at the ſacraments and other articles of catholic faith. John Huſs ſelected from his opinions ſuch as pleaſed himſelf, and inſpired with them ſeveral diſtinguiſhed perſons in his univerſity. Among his diſciples was Jerom of Prague, a maſter of arts, who propagated with ardent zeal the ſentiments of his maſter. They were both ſummoned to Conſtance, whither they repaired under the protection of a ſafe-conduct granted by Sigiſmund. They imagined that they had been called upon to explain their doctrine: but they were informed by the council that it was their duty not to argue but to ſubmit; and, on their refuſal to retract their opinions, they were, in violation of the ſafe-conduct, condemned to be burned alive, and executed accordingly. The council decided the affair of the ſchiſm with equal rigor, by decreeing the abdication of John XXII, as tending to promote the welfare of the church and to effect the reſtoration of peace. As he heſitated, they gave him to underſtand that they could allege againſt him a ſufficient number of charges to authoriſe his depoſition. Alarmed by this threat, he renounced the tiara.

The fire of that pile on which John Huſs and Jerom of Prague were conſumed kindled in Bohemia a great conflagration. Sigiſmund, who by the death of his brother Wenceſlaus was become king of that country, found himſelf ſurrounded by the flame, and much embarraſſed to extinguiſh it. Of the hereſies of John Huſs and his adherents, the people retained that part which ſtruck their eyes, and the great men that which was promotive of their own intereſt. Thus the latter admired the excellency of the doctrine that authoriſed them to ſeiſe on the property of the clergy. The people, taken by external appearances, were ſo well pleaſed with the communion under both kinds, that, when an attempt was made at Prague to ſtop the progreſs of the uſe of the cup which was daily gaining ground, the populace revolted on that ſingle account, and maſſacred the magiſtrates. Their numbers were ſwelled by the acceſſion of a crowd of ruſtics called into the city: and, in ſpite of every effort to diſperſe them, they formed themſelves into bodies, and united into an army under the conduct of an able general named John Ziſca.

In his firſt battle againſt Sigiſmund, in which Ziſca was victorious, the following ſingular ſtratagem is remarked. He placed his troops behind hedges, ſo that the emperor's cavalry, which conſtituted the chief ſtrength of his army, could not act without alighting from their horſes. The

women, who were very numerous in the army of the inſurgents, went forth by Ziſca's orders from that kind of entrenchment, carrying in their arms bundles of linen rolled up in imitation of infants in ſwaddling-clothes, whom they ſeemed to offer as hoſtages for their huſbands. They were ſuffered to approach by the enemy who were advancing to commence the attack. But, mingling themſelves with the diſmounted horſemen, they unfolded their bundles, ſhook the pieces of linen on every ſide, and ſo ſucceſsfully entangled them on the enemies' ſpurs, that the ſoldiers fell to the ground, unable to diſengage themſelves or to make uſe of their arms. At this moment Ziſca ſuddenly ruſhed upon them, cut a part of their number to pieces, put the remainder to flight, and gained a complete victory.

This was but a prelude to ſeveral others obtained over the emperor in perſon. There is no doubt, that, if Ziſca had thought proper to ſeat himſelf on the throne, he might have ſucceſsfully done it. The plague delivered Sigiſmund from that dangerous enemy. The Huſſites ſtretched his ſkin upon a drum, whoſe ſound ſeemed at each ſtep to revive in them the valour of their deceaſed chief. With the fury of maniacs they ravaged not only Bohemia their own country, but alſo Hungary, Poland, and Auſtria, under the appellations of "*Thaborites*" and "*Orphans*"—the former derived from the mountain of Thabor near Prague,

which long ſerved them as their ſtrong-hold—the latter alluding to the loſs of Ziſca, whom they conſidered as their father.

They found a ſucceſſor to him in Procopius the Shaven, who had been recommended to their choice by Ziſca, and who equaled his predeceſſor in courage, ability, cruelty, enthuſiaſm, and good fortune. To oppoſe that phrenetic multitude, a cruſade was proclaimed: the whole force of the empire attacked him, and ſuffered ſeveral rude defeats: but diviſion broke out between the chiefs, one of whom was called Procopius the Little, to diſtinguiſh him from the Shaven. There was a party among the inſurgents called the "*Calixtins*" becauſe they were more attached than the others to the uſe of the chalice in the communion. Theſe were gained over by a conceſſion of the point on which they laid ſuch ſtreſs; and they aſſiſted in defeating the Thaborites and the Orphans. The latter, being deprived of their chiefs, who had been killed, were obliged to ſurrender. The emperor enliſted under his banners the remnant of thoſe brave troops, who were afterward ſucceſsfully employed againſt the Turks.

Sigiſmund is thought to have died of poiſon at the age of ſeventy years. His illneſs was of ſufficient duration to afford time for intrigues, in which the empreſs Barbara was implicated. It is not however ſaid that ſhe had any concern in poiſoning Sigiſmund; although, conſidering her well-

known temperament, we ſhould not be ſurpriſed at her ſeeking to rid herſelf of an aged huſband. After his deceaſe, Barbara, ſurrounded by a crowd of young courtiers whom ſhe rendered ſubſervient to her pleaſures, led a life which cauſed her to be ſurnamed the Meſſalina of the north. She did not make a ſecret of her vicious propenſity, but took a pleaſure in rallying perſons of her own ſex, eſpecially nuns, who were reſtrained within the bounds of continence by what ſhe termed a ridiculous modeſty. "The life to come," ſaid ſhe, "is "a chimæra: let us enjoy the preſent."—In her widowhood, a lady quoting to her the example of the turtle dove, who, after having loſt her mate, never takes another—"Rather quote to me," ſhe replied, "the inſtance of the pigeons and the "ſparrows, whoſe pleaſures ſuffer no interrup- "tion."

Sigiſmund had a very majeſtic air: he was liberal and generous: learned himſelf and verſed in ſeveral branches of ſcience, he patroniſed men of letters, and teſtified particular regard for them. Among his courtiers there happened to be a man—ſuch as are to be found in all courts—who, proud of his birth and of his dignity of knighthood, was deficient in reſpect to ſome perſon eminent for learning. "Know," ſaid Sigiſmund to him, "that I can create a thouſand knights in a ſingle "day, but cannot create a ſingle learned man in "a thouſand years." This emperor was more

ſucceſsful in the operations of the cabinet than in thoſe of the field, though by no means deſtitute of military ſkill or courage.

After his death, the imperial ſceptre returned to the houſe of Auſtria, in the perſon of Albert his ſon-in-law. In the ſame year this prince received three crowns—thoſe of Hungary, of Bohemia, and of Germany—which, before the expiration of the following year, were covered with funereal crape, and incloſed with him in the tomb. Poſſeſſed of a vigorous conſtitution, blooming in the flower of his age, and juſtly entitled by his good qualities to a longer life, Albert died of an indigeſtion cauſed by a quantity of cooling fruit which he had immoderately eaten during the exceſſive heats. He was ſurnamed the Grave, and the Magnanimous. Albert II, A.D. 1438.

He was ſucceeded by his couſin-german Frederic of Auſtria, who, during a reign of fifty-two years, was not the inſtrument but the centre of all the movements of the empire. All the princes were in motion around him: but, whether through indolence or negligence, he remained quiet in the midſt of the ſtorm. It is remarked, however, that he ſometimes emerged from that lethargic ſtate when he thought any commotion likely to promote his advantage. Hence we may be allowed to conjecture that an indifference to public events did not ſo excluſively predominate in his mind as to render him deaf to the ſuggeſtions of intereſt. But the inſtances of his political ſleeping-fits are Frederic III, A.D. 1440.

more numerous than thoſe of his awaking from his ſlumbers.

The Bohemians, involved in domeſtic diſturbances after the death of Albert, placed the reins of their government at one time in the hands of a king, at another in thoſe of adminiſtrators. Often called in as mediator in their quarrels, Frederic gave them uſeful counſel, which they did not follow. He therefore abandoned them to the conſequences of their own obſtinacy; and, without taking either offence at or advantage of their diviſions, he propoſed, at the council of Baſil, terms of conciliation between the popes Eugenius and Felix. The pontifs and the council refuſing to accede to his propoſitions, Frederic, without declaring for either party, left them to accommodate their differences as they thought proper. He did not ſhow himſelf more vindictive than ambitious. His brother Albert duke of Auſtria, being diſſatisfied with his lot, raiſed an army, and commenced hoſtilities. He was named the Prodigal: that is to ſay, it was not difficult to induce him to lay down his arms by furniſhing him with money to gratify his ruling paſſion. Frederic gave him a ſum, to which he alſo added territorial domains. But this new acceſſion of fortune ſoon melted away in Albert's hands. The emperor viewed the event with unconcern, obſerving that "Oblivion is the "beſt remedy for irreparable evils:" a maxim of fatal tendency for the oppreſſed ſubjects!

Though the king of Denmark and the duke of Holſtein quarreled with each other—though Poland elected for herſelf a king—though Hungary choſe governors without conſulting him—though a private nobleman ſeiſed the crown of Bohemia—though two rival claimants fought for the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway—though all theſe tranſactions occurred around and on the borders of the empire, little did the heedleſs Frederic regard them. But diſturbances ariſe in Italy: he perceives that he may there recover ſome ſtates, and cauſe the rights of the empire to be acknowledged: the proſpect flatters him, and he immediately commences his march. He enters Rome, and is there crowned together with his imperial conſort: but that is the only fruit of his journey, except refuſals of ſubmiſſion, which he ſuffers to paſs unpuniſhed. Equally indulgent to the inhabitants of Vienna, he pardoned them a revolt, in which he had incurred the riſque of loſing his life.

No man, not even the French monarch Louis the Eleventh, was better acquainted than Frederic with the defects of Charles duke of Burgundy, or better knew to avail himſelf of them. He flattered the vanity of that prince by promiſing to erect his duchy into a kingdom: and, when he had received the homage which was to be the price of that erection, he departed under pretence of urgent buſineſs on the very day appointed for the ceremony. But he watched with attentive eye all

Charles's motions: he ſaw him exhauſt his ſtrength in a war againſt his ſubjects, come to a hoſtile colliſion with France, attack the Switzers, and periſh in a combat, leaving an only daughter, Mary of Burgundy, the richeſt heireſs in Europe. This was a conjuncture exactly ſuited to the wiſhes of the artful Frederic: he gained over the Flemings, and prevailed on them to give their ducheſs in marriage to his ſon Maximilian, whom he alſo procured to be declared king of the Romans.

From that moment he repoſed upon Maximilian the entire charge of the government, which, if we may judge by Frederic's conduct, had not ſat a very heavy burden on his own ſhoulders. He died at the age of ſeventy-nine years; at which ſtage of life he ſubmitted to the painful amputation of an ulcerated leg. What are not men prompted to endure by the wiſh of prolonging their exiſtence? During the fever which followed that operation, and which conducted him to the grave, he made the obſervation that "a peaſant in health is better "than a ſick emperor."—He was ſurnamed the Politic. He did not long heſitate to embark in a quarrel: but, as ſoon as he perceived that it might terminate in a war, he heſitated ſtill leſs to propoſe terms of peace. He alſo was readily diſpoſed to open conferences and diets; and he never was at a loſs to find a reaſon for cloſing them when he foreſaw that the deciſion would prove contrary to his wiſhes. On this account he has been repre-

ſented as void of reſolution: but does the art of concealing his reſolution imply a want of it? He is ſaid likewiſe to have only poſſeſſed a low contemptible policy, unaccompanied by either courage or generoſity: in effect his political ſyſtem was not brilliant, but it was ſolid. In the ſame manner, he did not court the perils of war; but neither did he ſhun them. He beſtowed ſeaſonably: and though we ſhould find his liberalities meaſured by the rule of œconomy, that were but an additional ground of praiſe. Finally he is blamed for having ſeldom aſked counſel: it was becauſe he was capable of diſpenſing with it; and the riches and power which he left to the houſe of Auſtria are a proof, that, with management like his, he did not ſtand in need of any perſon's counſel. Frederic was remarkable for exemplary ſobriety: his whole life is ſaid to have reſembled a continual faſt. His air was agreeable, his countenance majeſtic. He was ſimple in his dreſs, moderate in his paſſions, and an enemy to every kind of exceſs.

If a man's merits were always fairly appreciated by his own family, poſterity would be authoriſed to form a very diſadvantageous opinion of Maximilian with reſpect to probity. His ſon Philip placed no confidence in him, and conſidered him as a man whoſe diſſimulation approached to perfidy. The odious part of this imputation cannot be palliated by the renown which Maximilian acquired as an able politician. His ſon Philip was already Maximilian I, A.D. 1493.

poſſeſſed of Flanders, in right of his mother Mary of Burgundy, who died young. In addition, Maximilian procured for him the crown of Spain by the marriage which he effected between him and the infanta Joan; from which union ſprang Charles V. Philip, at the time of his death, was unwilling to intruſt his father with either the guardianſhip or education of Charles: and, beſides, the Flemings, who were far from feeling any prepoſſeſſion in favour of the emperor, would not have conſented to acknowledge his authority.

In conſidering the multitude of treaties concluded by Maximilian as well within as without the limits of Germany, we may judge, that, after the example of his father Frederic, he placed at leaſt as great dependence on negotiation as on arms. He entertained the ſingular project of procuring himſelf to be elected pope. This idea was thought whimſical: but it was not unwiſely conceived: it was perhaps the moſt effectual and expeditious mean of bringing back under the imperial dominion all the poſſeſſions which had been wreſted from it in Italy; and there is no abſurdity in attributing ſuch views to the diſſimulant Maximilian.

The manner in which he communicated that project to his daughter Margaret, gouvernante of the Netherlands, has the appearance of a jeſt: but it ſometimes happens that a man jokes with his friends concerning his chimæras, which he knows

to be ſuch, and of which, nevertheleſs, he at all events endeavours to ſecure the accompliſhment. The princeſs had probably adviſed him to marry again: he anſwered her—"I have formed my de- "liberation and reſolution never more to keep "company with a naked woman: and I ſend to "the pope to find the means of his taking me for "his co-adjutor, that, after his death, I may be "ſure of obtaining the papacy, and becoming a "prieſt, and afterward a ſaint. Thus, after my "deceaſe, you will be obliged to adore me: of "which I ſhall be very proud." His endeavours were ſerious, but unſucceſsful.

Maximilian was brave, and ſo modeſt that none of his people ever ſaw him without ſufficient covering. He never forgot the names of perſons whom he had ſeen, or of whom he had heard mention. His imagination was lively: he delighted in poetry, was an excellent horſeman, and indefatigable in the chaſe; whence it more than once happened, that, in the mountains of Tirol, people were obliged to reſcue him with cords from precipices in which he had engaged himſelf, and where he had remained till half-dead with hunger.

Maximilian left no efforts untried to obtain for his grandſon Charles an admiſſion into the electoral college as archduke of Auſtria, and the title of king of the Romans: but his endeavours were unattended with ſucceſs. After his grand-father's deceaſe, Charles ſtepped forward as candidate for

the empire. He was oppoſed by Francis I king of France, from whom he bore away the prize. From this rivality ſprang the mutual hatred of thoſe two competitors. Charles ſerved his apprenticeſhip to the art of government in the adminiſtration of Flanders, which had devolved upon him by the death of his father. He alſo made trial of his talents in Spain, where, on account of his mother Joan's inſanity, he undertook the management of affairs before her death. When promoted to the imperial throne, he came provided with that experience, which the diſturbances excited in Germany by religion rendered extremely neceſſary.

There were moments when the emperor flattered himſelf with the hope of being able to hold the balance between the catholics and the Lutherans. But his acts of neutrality, ſuch as the Confeſſion of Augſburg, were equally unſucceſsful as the congreſſes and conferences and rigors and indulgences and every other mode of conciliation that he could deviſe. The contending parties were too warmly inflamed with animoſity: whence, in addition to the perpetual war againſt Francis I which involved Charles in difficulties on all his frontiers, he was forced to ſuſtain a very violent one in the heart of the empire. Francis, who cauſed heretics to be burned in France, ſupported them in Germany in oppoſition to his rival; while Charles combated them in Germany and aſſiſted them in France.

Few princes who ever wore the diadem have been able to boaſt more numerous or more brilliant inſtances of proſperity. Fortune threw his rival Francis into his chains: on which occaſion the diſſimulant Charles affected a hypocritic compaſſion for the captive monarch, and prohibited every kind of rejoicing. "Victories," ſaid he, "gained over Chriſtians our brethren, ought "rather to cauſe ſorrow than joy." But, far from acting with generoſity toward his priſoner, he drew every poſſible advantage from his misfortune by the hard conditions which he annexed to the reſtoration of his liberty. When his army, commanded by the *connétable* de Bourbon, had taken and ſacked Rome, and loaded the pope and cardinals with chains, the news of that event being conveyed to Charles in Spain, he teſtified profound ſorrow for what had happened, and ordered public prayers for the deliverance of the ſovereign pontif, whoſe fetters he could have burſt by a ſingle word.

The only occaſion on which he relieved himſelf from the burden of diſſimulation—if indeed he ever felt it a burden—was when he ſaw preſented to him on the field of battle John-Frederic elector of Saxony, who had been compelled to ſurrender himſelf after the defeat of his army. This prince had publicly renounced his allegiance to the emperor, and endeavoured to effect his depoſition. On approaching his conqueror, John-Frederic gave him the title of "imperial majeſty."—"Then you

"acknowledge me for your emperor!" said Ch... in a tone of irony—"I will treat you as you de-"serve."—Accordingly, with the exception of death alone, there was no ſpecies of puniſhment, capable of wounding the ſenſibility of a prince, which he did not inflict on him. He kept him in cloſe confinement, and deprived him of all his ſtates, which he beſtowed on Maurice of Saxony, couſin-german to John-Frederic, as he durſt not venture to alienate thoſe patrimonial poſſeſſions from the family.

By a baſe deception he avenged himſelf on Philip landgrave of Heſſe, who had been John-Frederic's aſſociate in arms and revolt. The landgrave had demanded a ſafe-conduct to come treat in perſon with the emperor reſpecting the terms of peace between them. On arriving near Charles with his ſafe-conduct, he was arreſted. He exclaimed againſt that act of violence, as the ſafe-conduct promiſed that he ſhould not be confined in any priſon. But, in German, the word "*any*" might, by the alteration of a ſingle letter, be changed into the word "*perpetual* *;" and the alteration had been made. In extenuation of Charles's want of good-faith, it is to be remarked, that, in ſpite of all the efforts made to obtain from him an order for the arreſt of Luther who had come under the protection of his ſafe-conduct to the diet of Worms,

* The words in the German are einige, *any*—ewige, *perpetual*.

he ſuffered him to retire unmoleſted. On that occaſion, Charles, perhaps from recollection rather than ſentiment, anſwered, in the language formerly uſed by John king of France, "If good faith were "baniſhed from all the reſt of the world, it ought "to find an aſylum in the palaces of princes."—As the captivity of Luther would have proved very advantageous to the catholic religion, ſome people of little delicacy have placed his eſcape among the political errors imputed to Charles the Fifth.

The others are—a fruitleſs and ruinous expedition to Africa—his neglect of at leaſt preſerving Tunis and defending the Goletta, which he had in his power to do notwithſtanding his diſaſter—that he raiſed in Italy the power of the houſe of Medici, which was injurious to that of Auſtria—that he ſubſcribed to diſhonourable conditions, to obtain for his ſon Philip the hand of Mary queen of England—(But, if that marriage had produced the advantages which might reaſonably have been expected from it, could it have been purchaſed at too dear a rate?)—that he procured the election of his brother Ferdinand as king of the Romans, inſtead of his ſon Philip—(But the latter had already too many ſtates.)—that he expoſed his perſon in a journey through France, depending on the bare word of Francis I, whom he had mal-treated —(Yet no harm reſulted to him from that ſtep: and thoſe who are commonly called "ſtateſmen" have been of opinion that Francis was on that oc-

caſion more impolitic than he.)—finally, that he abdicated all his crowns.

But, before we condemn him on this laſt head, it would be proper to weigh his motives. He ſubmitted them to the criticiſm of the univerſe in the ſolemn ceremony of his abdication. After that ſtriking tranſaction, of which the theatre was in Germany *, he ſet out for Spain with a choſen retinue. On his arrival, he proſtrated himſelf, and, kiſſing the earth with tranſport, exclaimed, "O dearly-beloved land! may heaven "ſhed upon thee abundant bleſſings! Naked I "iſſued from the womb of my mother: naked I "wiſh to return to thee, whom I conſider as my "ſecond parent. I devote to thee my fleſh and "my bones, the only offering which I can now "beſtow on thee." Shut up in the monaſtery of Saint Juſtus, he there lived like a ſimple monk. Were we acquainted with the reflexions which occupied his mind while he was ſhrouded with the ſable veil of death which he ſpread around him when deſcending alive to the tomb, we would perhaps be of opinion, that, in an old man, it is neither impolitic nor capricious conduct to anticipate by a few moments the loſs of a ſceptre fleeting from his graſp, the fall of a diadem which totters on his head—and that, reſtored to himſelf, ſated with honours, diſguſted with the inanity of greatneſs, a monarch may be allowed to reſerve for himſelf a few days to regret the pains he has

* We ſhould rather ſay "the Netherlands," as the abdication took place at Bruſſels.

taken in governing men who feel ſo little obligation to him for what he has done.

Charles V delighted in reading, was ſimple in dreſs, and familiar with his domeſtics. He was much addicted to the uſe of equivocal language, ſhowed great patience in his audiences, and was extremely circumſpect in his actions. He was fond of women, and indulged his paſſion for them: but he carefully concealed it as a weakneſs, leſt he ſhould encourage it in others by his own example.

In aſcending the imperial throne, Ferdinand was not an indigent prince. He already poſſeſſed the domains of the houſe of Auſtria in Germany, which his brother Charles V had ceded to him; and he ornamented the two heads of the imperial eagle with the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary. It was long ere the pope acknowledged him, becauſe Charles's reſignation and the exaltation of Ferdinand had taken place without his concurrence. But the new emperor paid little regard to the pontif's diſpleaſure; and his indifference was not productive of any diſagreeable conſequences. During a reign of eight years from his brother's abdication, he merited the public eſteem by his prudence and juſtice, and won general affection by his clemency and liberality. It was not his fault that the council of Trent did not terminate in a manner advantageous to religion: he wiſhed that the clergy ſhould themſelves reform eccleſiaſtic abuſes; and he conſidered ſuch a meaſure as effi-

Ferdinand I, A.D. 1556.

cacious to gain over the heretics. He piqued himſelf on ſtrict fidelity in the obſervance of his word: he might even be ſaid to have carried that kind of punctuality too far in beſtowing a recompenſe on an officer, who, after the promiſe, had rendered himſelf unworthy of it. "I owe," ſaid he, "a greater reſpect to my own word than to "the merit of him to whom I have pledged it." But the application of that principle may tend to embolden vice or crime by recompenſing them.

Maximilian II, A.D. 1564.

Maximilian, the ſon of Ferdinand, had, during his father's life-time, been elected king of the Romans. Like him, he exerted all the efforts of an enlightened zeal to promote the peace of the church; but the maxims of toleration which he profeſſed were viewed by the pope as too favourable to the proteſtants. Maximilian, however, did not on that account depart from them, but granted liberty of conſcience to thoſe of his ſtates which diſſented from the Romiſh faith, obſerving that "ſpiritual concerns were not to be determined by "the ſword." Steady to this principle, he ever preferred gentle to violent means, and he conſidered as enemies to reconciliation, and dangerous to the public peace, all thoſe who entertained a contrary opinion. Nevertheleſs he was a ſincere catholic.—It would be a fruitleſs taſk to ſeek a blemiſh in the character of this excellent prince. No individual ever complained of having heard a harſh expreſſion from his lips; none ever departed diſſatisfied from his audience. To every act of his

life its appropriate hour was allotted. After his dinner, the meaneſt of his ſubjects was at liberty to approach him, and to preſent him his petition. An affectionate parent, a faithful huſband, a friend to truth, chaſte in his own perſon, and an enemy to diſorder, he had by his virtues a conſiderable influence on the manners of Germany, which never enjoyed greater tranquillity than under his government.

He had taken the precaution, which was become familiar to the houſe of Auſtria, of cauſing his ſon Rodolf to be elected king of the Romans. That prince inherited a great portion of his father's mildneſs, but poſſeſſed little capacity for government. Nevertheleſs, as Maximilian had diffuſed a ſpirit of concord throughout the empire, domeſtic peace continued under Rodolf, and the rather as all minds were united by intereſt in the common concern of repelling the invaſive attempts of the Turks. That was the principal buſineſs of his reign; to which we may add his diſputes with his brother Matthias. Theſe he allayed by ſucceſſively making to that ambitious brother various conceſſions. Had he not laboured under a ſlight tincture of jealouſy, the uſual vice of little minds, Rodolf, ſeeing himſelf childleſs, would perhaps have ceded the empire to Matthias, whoſe wiſh for it was ſufficiently evident. The emperor did not betray any decided paſſion except for jewels, chymiſtry, mechanics, and horſes. He diſliked the

Rodolf II, A.D. 1576.

pomp of ceremonial, ſhunned the crowd, and ſought privacy. He paſſed whole days among workmen, and in contemplating his jewels, of which he left a copious collection to his ſucceſſor.

The ſucceeding emperors, all of the houſe of Auſtria, have uniformly purſued one ſyſtem—that of aggrandiſing their family. Happily aided by circumſtances, they have ſeen Fortune create for them a ſucceſſion of excellent generals, and miniſters of rare capacity: ſhe alſo, by the extinction of ancient families, rendered thrones vacant, which they were thus enabled to invade. In addition to thoſe boons of Fortune, the Auſtrian princes eſtabliſhed for themſelves an hereditary title to crowns which had been conferred on them by election, and aſſerted their claims to diſtant ſucceſſions, calling in the aid of arms to ſtamp legitimacy on their rights, when occaſion required. Two other circumſtances are worthy of attention—the one, that they have had the art to inſpire the people with enthuſiaſtic attachment to their government, and with a readineſs to fight the whole univerſe, if neceſſary, to ſubſerve their ambition—the other, that they contrived to intereſt the neighbouring monarchs in their greatneſs, and to procure it to be guarantied by entire Europe.

Notwithſtanding theſe precautions which ſeemed to promiſe the eternal duration of their family, its numerous ſcions have ſucceſſively withered and dropped off, till only a ſingle branch remained,

which has been grafted on a foreign ſtock, whoſe ſap has revivified it. It ſtill ſpreads its ſhade over the imperial throne, and reproduces, under a different name, all the ancient prerogatives of the houſe of Auſtria. Theſe laſt Auſtrian emperors have not perſonally done much out of the cabinet: their labours, however advantageous to themſelves, do not poſſeſs that brilliancy which ſheds a luſtre on the lives of monarchs. We will therefore content ourſelves with ſelecting a few facts ſufficient to enliven the dull monotony of dates.

Matthias, A.D. 1612.

After Rodolf's deceaſe, Matthias, already advanced in years, received his brother's diadem which he had long coveted. He was previouſly poſſeſſed of the crown of Bohemia. He is entitled to our praiſe for his conciliatory ſpirit and his talents in negotiation. By the former he maintained peace among the princes of the empire: by the latter he engaged the Perſians and Ruſſians to participate the burden of the war againſt the Turks. Having no iſſue, he conferred the crown of Hungary on his couſin Ferdinand arch-duke of Auſtria, and cauſed him to be elected king of Bohemia; which election proved the ſource of a war that ravaged Germany during the ſpace of thirty years. No ſooner had he received the ſceptre than he infringed the privileges of the Bohemians: he declared himſelf inimical to the ſectaries who were very numerous in the kingdom. His perſecution was repreſented by the court of Vienna as proceeding from a wiſh to ſupport the catholics:

but the latter evidently perceived that Ferdinand's object was to weaken the one party by means of the other, for the purpoſe of concentring in himſelf the whole power, and aboliſhing even the right of election which the ſtates enjoyed. They therefore took up arms. The emperor aided his couſin, and poured into Bohemia his German troops, who there committed great ravages. On the other hand the Bohemians defended themſelves with vigor: they often cauſed the balance of victory to waver; which only ſerved to render the war more fierce and bloody.

Among their beſt generals is reckoned the brave Mansveldt, whoſe name merits a place in the page of hiſtory. He was a natural ſon of the count Mansveldt governor of Luxemburg, and had been educated at the court of Bruſſels, from which having retired in diſguſt, he joined the party of thoſe whom the court of Vienna called the Bohemian inſurgents, who were joined by the proteſtants of Sileſia and Hungary. Mansveldt ſaw under his banners at one time numerous armies, at another a much ſmaller force, as uſually happens in wars of that kind. In the latter caſe, his courage compenſated the deficiency of number. In his ſucceſſes he diſplayed equal magnanimity as he ſhowed fortitude in his reverſes. His life abounds with rare and ſtriking *traits*, of which we will content ourſelves with quoting two.

He had a confidant named Cazel, and that confidant was in the habit of betraying him. Mans-

veldt having diſcovered his treachery, gave him a ſum of money, together with a letter for the hoſtile general to whom Cazel was accuſtomed to ſend intelligence. The letter was conceived in the following terms—"Cazel being more attached to "your intereſts than to mine, I ſend him to you, "that you may make uſe of his ſervices."—On another occaſion, he ſaid to an apothecary who had undertaken to poiſon him, "My friend! I can "hardly believe that a man whom I have never "injured ſhould wiſh to deprive me of life. If it "was neceſſity which induced you to accept the "office of aſſaſſin, there is money which will "enable you to live honeſtly."

Mansveldt gave much trouble to the emperor Matthias, who finally died of vexation that he had not been able to obtain over the Bohemians ſo complete a triumph as he could have wiſhed. At his death, he recommended to his couſin Ferdinand, as an excellent rule of conduct, the following maxim—"If you wiſh your ſubjects to live "happy under your government, do not let them "feel the full force of your authority." But, without a diſplay of power, can a prince rely on the obedience of the people, who, if they do not ſenſibly perceive that they are governed, often grow turbulent, and render themſelves miſerable?

To the arch-duchy of Auſtria and his two ſceptres of Bohemia and Hungary, Ferdinand added that of the empire, but not till it had been refuſed by Ferdinand II, A.D. 1619.

Maximilian duke of Bavaria. When a tender of the imperial crown was made to the latter, he judged that his acceptance would arm againſt him all the forces of the houſe of Auſtria, not only of the German but alſo of the Flemiſh and Spaniſh branches of that family. He therefore prudently declined the offer. Scarcely was Ferdinand ſeated on the imperial throne, when he found himſelf attacked on that of Bohemia. The Bohemians, maintaining that the ſame head could not wear the crown of the empire together with that of their kingdom, conferred the latter on Frederic the elector palatine. The Hungarians attempted alſo to ſhake off the yoke of Ferdinand, and placed themſelves under the government of Bethlem Gabor, waywode of Tranſylvania. This defection aroſe from the alarm excited in the boſoms of the Lutherans and other ſectaries of thoſe kingdoms by the exceſſive zeal of Ferdinand, who was conſtantly ſurrounded by Jeſuits.

The duke of Bavaria and the elector of Saxony declared againſt the elector palatine. The kings of Sweden and Denmark eſpouſed his cauſe; but their friendſhip came too late: for, while he remained in expectation of the aſſiſtance which they were preparing to ſend him, he was defeated. Without allowing time for negotiation in his favour, the emperor, who had already cauſed him to be put under the ban of the empire, deprives him of his ſtates, and confers on the duke of Ba-

varia the title of elector. Gabor, who had been acknowledged by the emperor in a moment of difficulty, now feels the ſhock of repercuſſion from the defeat of the elector palatine, and totters on his Hungarian throne. The king of Denmark, deſpoiled of his poſſeſſions in Germany, flees before Walſtein, who confines him within his priſtine boundaries. Mansveldt, abandoned by a part of his army, beholding the reſt a prey to diſeaſe, and overwhelmed with chagrin on ſeeing the Hungarian mal-contents accept the inſidious propoſals of the emperor, falls a victim to grief and languor.

So many ſucceſſive advantages ſeemed to promiſe Ferdinand a complete triumph. Deceitful illuſion! during the ſunſhine of ſecurity, ſuddenly ariſes a tremendous ſtorm. Germany trembles with the apprehenſion of ſeeing herſelf bound in ſlaviſh ſubjection to the houſe of Auſtria: the proteſtants more eſpecially take the alarm. Richelieu, ſteadily purſuant of the plan which had been formed of humbling the houſe of Auſtria, excites their fears and inquietudes, offers them the aſſiſtance of France, procures for them that of England, foments the diſcontent of Guſtavus-Adolphus king of Sweden, who had been indelicately treated by the emperor.

With the impetuoſity of a torrent, Guſtavus ruſhes into Germany, and increaſes his force by the additional ſtrength of Pomerania and Branden-

burg and Saxony, which he hurries away in ſpite of them in his rapid vortex. In vain the imperialiſts, commanded by that excellent general Tilly, endeavour to check his irreſiſtible career in the fields of Leipſic: they are defeated and diſperſed. The ill-fated Guſtavus, purſuing a new victory on the plain of Lutzen, falls ſmitten with the ſtroke of death, as it were in ſight of his recent trophies at Leipſic. He is ſaid to have been aſſaſſinated. Ferdinand was on the point of ſuing for peace: but his opponent's fall determines him to proſecute the war. Miſunderſtanding ariſes among the allies. The Swediſh nation, deprived of her king, conſents to an accommodation: but the Swediſh troops, headed by different chiefs who had been the pupils of Guſtavus, ſell their aſſiſtance to the belligerant powers, and continue to give uneaſineſs to the emperor. Very lively fears were excited in his breaſt by the conduct of Walſtein, one of his beſt generals, who, conceiving himſelf to have been ill requited, threatened him with either a defection or a revolt. The cabinet of Vienna determined, that, if he could not be ſeiſed, he ought to be killed. The latter alternative took place, and Walſtein fell under the aſſaſſin's ſteel. All the calamities of a civil war—of which no individual could doubt that the flames had been kindled by the pride and the ambition and the outrageous zeal of Ferdinand the Second—did not prove a bar to his ſon's election as king

of the Romans, though at the riſque of the conflagration's continuing to rage under his adminiſtration.

Happily, however, the hoſtilities were for the moſt part ſuperſeded by negotiations under Ferdinand III. But thoſe pacific diſpoſitions in the interior of the empire did not ſave ill-fated Germany from ſuffering ravages on her frontiers, principally on the ſide of France. The calamities of the people were rendered durable by the abilities of the generals employed. Hiſtory will never forget the names of Weimar, Bannier, Torſtenſon, Piccolomini, Merci, Wrangel, and numerous others. The warring ſovereigns, ſure of unfailing reſources in the abilities of thoſe great commanders, were little alarmed by a defeat, and readily re-entered the liſts, to the great detriment of their peoples. Diets meanwhile were aſſembled, regulations were made, meaſures were adopted for the purpoſe of removal or diminution of the exiſting calamities. Their ambition excepted, the Auſtrian princes juſtly bore the character of good monarchs; though we may alſo tax them with luxury, oſtentation, haughtineſs, and a punctilious formality of etiquette which was extremely tireſome to thoſe who approached them. They rarely commanded their armies in perſon, though they were almoſt conſtantly at war. The indolence of the palace uſually poſſeſſed greater attractions for them than the activity of the camp.

Ferdinand III, A.D. 1637.

Notwithſtanding the right—till then ſeldom conteſted—which the title of king of the Romans gave to the imperial crown, Ferdinand's ſon Leopold, being thwarted by France, found a difficulty in cauſing himſelf to be elected. Soon after his aſcenſion of the throne, he was obliged to defend himſelf againſt the Turks. Under his banners, Montecuculli defeated them at Saint-Godard. Leopold afterward ſaw himſelf placed as it were between two fires—being preſſed on the one hand by Louis the Fourteenth, on the other by the revolted Hungarians, and little aided by the princes of the empire, who were not ſorry to ſee the invaſive power of the houſe of Auſtria kept in check. But the Turks were not ſatisfied with inſpiring diſtant terror: they advanced even to the walls of Vienna. The emperor and all his court ſought ſafety in flight. John Sobieſki king of Poland, being called upon for aid, and acting in concert with Charles duke of Lorraine, compelled the barbarians to raiſe the ſiege of Vienna. In the interview between the two monarchs, the imperial majeſty abated nothing of its uſual pride: Leopold ſeemed as it were afraid of conferring too great honours on the victor: every ſtep was meaſured, every geſture and word regulated by previous agreement. On viewing ſuch nice preciſion of ceremonial, the beholders might well have been at a loſs to diſcover on which ſide lay the ſervice, on which the debt of gratitude.

Leopold I, A.D. 1657.

Notwithſtanding his embarraſſments, Leopold ultimately ſucceeded in accompliſhing an object which long had been the wiſh of his family—that of rendering for them the crown of Hungary inheritable. For their laſt elective ſovereign the Hungarians choſe the archduke Joſeph, at whoſe coronation they for-ever renounced the right of election, and inſured to the houſe of Auſtria that of hereditary ſucceſſion. The ſame prince was elected king of the Romans. This was the period of fortunate promotions: the duke of Hanover received the title of elector: the duke of Saxony obtained the crown of Poland: the elector of Brandenburg procured himſelf to be acknowledged king of Pruſſia. It was alſo during this time that the houſe of Bourbon was forcing its way to the Spaniſh throne. Leopold witneſſed all theſe changes on the ſcene during a reign of forty-ſeven years. He excited not much regret when removed by death from the theatre of the empire, on which he had not perſonally acted a very brilliant part. No cenſure has been beſtowed on either his character or his morals.

That activity which had been wanting in Leopold was poſſeſſed by his ſon Joſeph. To a conſiderable portion of ambition and pride, he added ardor, enterpriſe, indefatigability. No emperor ever ruled Germany with equal haughtineſs and deſpotiſm. Already celebrated for his martial ſucceſſes and diſtinguiſhed by his talents, he excited Joſeph I, A.D. 1705.

the moſt lively hopes and fears, when death ſnatched him away in the bloom of his age. The electoral college were not generally diſpoſed in favour of his brother the archduke Charles: but the elector of Mentz gained for him all the votes by a deciſive argument. "The empire," ſaid he, "is "a wife of high birth. She requires a great ex- "penditure for her maintenance; and the houſe "of Auſtria alone poſſeſſes revenues adequate to "the purpoſe."

Charles VI; A.D. 1711. Charles was at this time in Spain, of which he diſputed the crown with Philip V. His elevation to the empire furniſhed an opportunity of terminating the conteſt between the two rivals, and reeſtabliſhing a general peace, of which Europe at length taſted the ſweets after a long war which had haraſſed Germany under the four emperors laſt preceding. Charles VI was the author of that famous pragmatic ſanction which ſecured all the poſſeſſions of the houſe of Auſtria to the archduchefs Maria-Thereſa his daughter. He procured that order of ſucceſſion to be guarantied by the ſtates of the empire, by all the powers who were capable of diſturbing it, and, among others, by France.

At his death, that power, without directly oppoſing the diſpoſitions of the pragmatic ſanction to which ſhe had given her approbation, ſupported or even excited the pretenſions of other branches of the houſe of Auſtria, who, after having given their

conſent to that family compact, now roſe in oppoſition to it. Hence originated a war which inflamed all Europe. Maria-Thereſa, who had given her hand to Francis-Stephen duke of Lorraine, reſolutely aſſerted the rights which ſhe derived from the pragmatic ſanction, and ſucceſsfully repelled the efforts of Charles elector of Bavaria, whom the intrigues of France had cauſed to be elected emperor. Charles VII, A.D.1742.

The duke of Bavaria dearly paid for the honour of wearing the imperial crown. After five years of diſaſtrous warfare, he died deprived of nearly all his ſtates. The arch-ducheſs Maria-Thereſa, already queen of Hungary and Bohemia, had ſufficient influence to place her huſband on the throne of the empire, which had been occupied by the princes of the houſe of Auſtria, her anceſtors. This event introduced a new line of ſucceſſion—that of the Auſtro-Lorraine family. Francis-Stephen I, 1745.

Francis-Stephen, the ſtock of that lineage, was ſucceeded by his two ſons, the one after the other. Joſeph, a prince thirſting for glory of every kind, had that of trying his ſtrength without diſadvantage againſt Frederic the Great, king of Pruſſia. He was ſeen in France attentively viſiting the ports and arſenals, obſerving the proceſſes of the arts, and ardently purſuing the acquiſition of every branch of knowledge whence he could derive any benefit in the adminiſtration of his dominions. Though twice married, he left no children. His Joſeph II, A.D.1765.

Peter-Leopold-Joſeph, A.D. 1790. Francis II, A.D. 1792.

brother Peter-Leopold-Joſeph inherited the crown after him, and was ſucceeded, at the expiration of two years, by Francis II. The latter, after a calamitous war, has had the good fortune to realiſe by a treaty with France the project ever entertained by the houſe of Auſtria, of rendering herſelf miſtreſs of the Adriatic gulf, by including within his territories the city of Venice and a great part of its continental dependencies.

Hungary, though not belonging to the body of the empire, may be conſidered as an appendage to it, on account of the influence which the emperors have over it in conſequence of its proximity. We will therefore preſent its hiſtory previouſly to that of the ſtates which compoſe the confederation of the Germanic empire.

HUNGARY.

Hungary, between Poland, Tranſylvania, Walachia, Sclavonia, Auſtria, and Moravia.

Hungary was originally inhabited by the Huns, whom Charlemagne either deſtroyed or reduced to ſubjection—his uſual alternative. The country abounds in every thing neceſſary for the ſupport and comfort of life, in mines, foreſts, and eſpecially wine. That of Tokay is the moſt celebrated. Game is there ſo plenty, that, to prevent its ravages, the chaſe is every-where permitted and even encouraged. The Hungarians are men of advantageous ſtature: deſcended from the ancient Huns, they inherit their courage. Their horſemen are called *huſſars*—their infantry *heyducks*.

The nobles are haughty and vindictive, but faithful and generous. Almoſt all the Hungarians, peaſants as well as citizens, ſpeak two languages, the Sclavonian and the German. The catholic religion is the moſt prevalent in the kingdom. The Hungarian women poſſeſs no peculiar characteriſtic, unleſs we conſider as ſuch the ſeverity of their principles and morals.

At different periods the Hungarians made deſtructive inroads into Italy and Germany, which they pillaged and ravaged with fire and ſword. We do not know what were, in thoſe days, their manners or laws or government. Probably their manners were ſavage, their laws barbarous, and their kings the chiefs of undiſciplined hordes. The firſt of thoſe princes who profeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian was Geyſa, whoſe place in chronology is marked about the year 989. His pagan ſubjects, not approving his change of religion, revolted againſt him. If he did not convert them, at leaſt he forced them to acquieſce in the eſtabliſhment of churches, monaſteries, biſhops, prieſts, all enriched by him with liberal donations. His ſon Stephen experienced a rebellion of that part of his ſubjects who had retained their attachment to paganiſm, and who called in, to the defence of their idols, their king's uncle, the prince of Tranſylvania. Stephen defeated his uncle, reduced his ſubjects within the bounds of their duty, and alſo protected Hungary from an invaſion of the Bulgarians.

Geyſa, A.D. 989.

Stephen, A.D. 991.

Peter, A.D.1033. His ſon Peter incurred the hatred of the Hungarians by a too ſtrongly marked predilection for the Germans whom he invited to his court. The chiefs of the nation depoſed him, and in his place ſet up one of their own number, named Aba. When the latter thought himſelf ſecurely ſeated on the throne, he committed acts of cruelty which rendered him odious. Peter was now recalled, and Aba was killed. But Peter, not being improved in wiſdom by his late diſgrace, began anew to favour the Germans. This conduct exciting murmurs, he baniſhed and proſcribed, without ſparing even the higheſt nobles. One of theſe, by name Andrew, and deſcended from the royal family, after having roamed ſome time in exile, returned to Hungary with his brother Bela. They dethroned Peter, and cauſed his eyes to be put out; in conſequence of which puniſhment he died. The two brothers afterward diſagreed becauſe Andrew had deſignated his ſon Solomon as his ſole heir to the crown. From this quarrel enſued a war, in which Andrew was ſlain. Bela periſhed by accident, having been cruſhed by the fall of a wall.

Bela, A.D. 1061.

Andrew had left two ſons, Geyſa and Ladiſlaus, who diſputed the diadem with Solomon. After having tried the fate of war, they came to a reconciliation, and divided the kingdom among them. Geyſa dying, his brother Ladiſlaus ſeiſed for himſelf the portion which was common to both, although Geyſa had left two ſons, Coloman

Solomon, A.D. 1063.

Geyſa, A.D. 1074.

Ladiſlaus, A.D.1077.

and Almus. Whether in consequence of an agreement with their uncle, or after his death, they reigned in their turn: but the former caused the eyes of the latter to be put out. Under these two princes, under their uncle Ladislaus and their father Geysa, the Chuni, a pagan tribe inhabiting Walachia, made dreadful ravages in Hungary. The Germans and Russians also over-ran the country; and the Normans infested the coasts of Dalmatia. At the same time the two religions, paganism and Christianity, waged fierce war against each other in the interior of the country. The latter became so far prevalent, that Hungary furnished a numerous host of crusaders for an expedition to the holy land, and that, during the minority of Stephen the son of Coloman, the bishops were joined with the nobles in the administration of the government. Their ward profited little by their lessons, and did not at first appear much impressed with the benign maxims of Christianity. He was harsh, severe, and even cruel, but at the same time a valiant warrior, who carried the terror of his arms into Bohemia and Russia, and caused himself to be feared by the emperor of Constantinople. He was surnamed the Shaven. At his death he veiled his laurels with a monkish cowl: but we are to suppose that it was not so much this act of humility which gained for him the title of Saint with which he is also honoured, as the virtue of generosity toward the clergy.

Coloman and Almus, A.D. 1095.

Stephen II, A.D. 1114.

Bela II, A.D. 1131.

Having no iſſue, Stephen had called to the ſucceſſion his couſin Bela, the ſon of Almus. Bela, after having experienced ſome revolts, and conquered the Germans who had advanced to the very walls of his capital, bequeathed the peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom to his ſon Geyſa, who, having no children, was ſucceeded by his brother Stephen, who, for the ſame reaſon, was in his turn followed by his remaining brother, Bela. The Venetians had fought with his predeceſſors for Dalmatia: the war was renewed under his reign, and with advantage to him, ſince that province remained united to Hungary. He left two ſons, Emeric and Andrew, the latter of whom prepared to invade the throne of his elder brother, and levied troops for the purpoſe. The two armies having met, and being on the point of engaging in combat, Emeric laid aſide his armour, and, advancing into the midſt of his brother's ranks, "Soldiers!" ſaid he, "which of you will dare "to embrue his hands in the blood of his king? "which of you will dare to violate in my per- "ſon the dignity of Saint Stephen? I am his "ſucceſſor, his vicar, your ſovereign by the unani- "mous conſent of the ſtates. Accept the pardon "which I offer to you, and acknowledge your "king." This boldneſs was ſucceſsful: the weapons fell from the hands of the rebels; nor did he thenceforward experience from his ſubjects aught but obedience and ſubmiſſion. After his death,

Geyſa III, A.D. 1141.

Stephen III, A.D. 1161.

Bela III, A.D. 1173.

Emeric, A.D. 1196.

they placed on the throne his ſon Ladiſlaus, who was carried off by ſickneſs at the end of ſix months. Ladiſlaus II, A.D. 1203.

Andrew, who had endeavoured to wreſt the diadem from his brother Emeric, acquired it without violence after the death of his nephew Ladiſlaus. He placed himſelf at the head of a cruſade, having intruſted a nobleman named Bancbanus with the adminiſtration of the kingdom during his abſence. The queen, named Gertrude, a German by birth, had remained at home. One of her brothers, having come to ſee her, conceived a violent paſſion for Bancbanus's wife; and Gertrude aſſiſted her brother to gratify his deſires by violence. Bancbanus, informed by his wife of the inſult offered to her, ſtabbed the queen, ruſhed out of the palace with the reeking ſword in his hand, publicly proclaimed the deed, and declared that he was going to Conſtantinople to ſurrender himſelf into the king's hands, that he might ſuffer the puniſhment of his conduct if it merited any. In effect, he went as he had promiſed: but Andrew, who was well ſatisfied with his regency, refuſed to liſten to him, ſent him inſtantly back to his poſt, and told him that he would examine into the affair on the ſpot where it had happened. After his return he accordingly made examination, declared the queen guilty, and pardoned the murderer, whom he moreover ſplendidly rewarded for his good conduct in the regency. The Andrew II, A.D. 1204.

confidence placed by Bancbanus in Andrew's juſtice does honour to the latter. He returned from the holy land, more laden with reliques than with laurels.

Bela IV, A.D. 1235. Under the reign of his ſon Bela, the Tartars drove before them the Cumani, a Sarmatian tribe, who fled into Hungary. The king granted them lands: but that act of complaiſance diſpleaſed his ſubjects, and not without reaſon; for the new ſettlers, inſtead of ſerving as a barrier to protect the old inhabitants from the inroads of the Tartars, united with the latter, and together with them ravaged the country. Either as a puniſhment for this error in government which proved ſo fatal to his ſubjects, or for other reaſons, Bela was baniſhed from his kingdom. He ſuffered all the calamities of exile, wandering, driven from place to place, and even kept in confinement by the ſovereign of Auſtria, to which country he had fled for refuge. He eſcaped from his chains, and, after various adventures, was re-eſtabliſhed on his throne by the knights of Rhodes. He made a brilliant oppoſition to Ottocarus king of Bohemia, who had declared war againſt him: he avenged himſelf for his captivity in Auſtria, and employed the laſt years of his reign in recovering his kingdom from the deplorable condition to which the barbarians had reduced it.

Stephen IV, A.D. 1270. His ſon Stephen likewiſe ſucceſsfully combated the king of Bohemia: but it was reſerved for

Ladiſlaus, Stephen's ſon and ſucceſſor, finally to rid Hungary of that troubleſome enemy. Ottocarus was killed in battle. To the ravages of the Bohemians ſucceeded thoſe of the Cumani, who, from ſuppliants under Bela, were become, as had been foreſeen, formidable gueſts under Ladiſlaus. That prince bore ſuch a character for debauchery, that the pope and alſo the emperor his brother-in-law thought proper to reproach him on the ſubject, and to give him prudent cautions: but they were fruitleſs. During ſome interval of truce, probably, he made to ſome Cuman women certain advances, which were rejected: he attempted violence; and they ſtabbed him in his own tent. Ladiſlaus III, A.D. 1272.

As he left no iſſue, Hungary became an object of cupidity to ſeveral competitors. Rodolf, emperor of Germany, claimed it as a fief of the empire: Charles, king of Naples, preſented himſelf as a candidate in the right of his wife Mary the ſiſter of Ladiſlaus, and, without awaiting the deciſion, cauſed his ſon Charles Martel to be proclaimed and crowned at Naples. The pope took part with the Neapolitan, aſſerting himſelf to be lord paramont of Hungary, and commanded the emperor to renounce his pretenſions. During theſe conteſts, the Hungarians, indignant that thoſe foreigners ſhould arrogate to themſelves the right of giving them a maſter, elected Andrew, the grand-ſon of Andrew II, born at Venice after the death of his father, and thence ſurnamed the Andrew III, A.D. 1290.

Venetian. He was oppoſed during his whole reign by Charles the Neapolitan. The two competitors died nearly at the ſame time—the Venetian, without children. The Neapolitan left a ſon called Charles-Robert, whence was formed the name of Charobert. During his minority, the Hungarians fought a king in Bohemia. Wenceſlaus, king of that country, gave them his ſon Ladiſlaus, but recalled that young prince when he was informed of the diſturbances by which their kingdom was agitated. They now conferred their crown on Otho duke of Bavaria, who ſpent his reign in religious proceſſions and feſtivals, and finally abdicated the ſovereignty. Young Charobert, the ſon of the Neapolitan, being now of age, aſſumed the ſceptre: but, invited to bear that of Naples, he preferred the latter, and left his ſon Lewis to rule the Hungarians.

Ladiſlaus IV, A.D. 1301.

Otho of Bavaria, A.D. 1305.

Charobert, A.D. 1310.

Lewis, A.D. 1342.

Lewis was a courageous prince: he ſubjugated Tranſylvania which had revolted—aſſiſted the king of Poland againſt the Lithuanians—repelled the Tartars and Croats and Sarmatians, barbarian hordes who furiouſly attacked Hungary. Lewis carried the terror of his arms to Naples, where he avenged the murder of his brother Andrew who had been aſſaſſinated by his wife Joan, and cauſed himſelf to be feared through all Italy. To theſe martial qualities he added prudence, generoſity, and a love of literature: and he made his kingdom to flouriſh. He was ſurnamed the Great. After

his death, the Hungarians did not hesitate to testify their gratitude to his memory by proclaiming his daughter Mary under the title of "*king*." She wished to associate with herself in the sovereignty her husband Sigismond; which object she accomplished, partly with the consent of her subjects, partly by force. But Mary being dead, and Sigismond having suffered a severe defeat from the Turks, the Hungarians called to their throne Ladislaus, a prince of the Neapolitan branch. Sigismond, however, so completely recovered from his fall, as to become emperor and king of Bohemia; when Ladislaus, fearing his power, abdicated the sovereignty. Sigismond assumed sufficient authority over the nation to procure the crown for his son-in-law Albert of Austria. This prince reigned but a short time, and, at his death, left his wife pregnant. She brought forth a son, called Ladislaus, who was crowned at the age of four months. The Hungarians, agitated by civil and religious commotions, offered their crown to Uladislaus king of Poland, who accepted it under the title of protector; but he also bore that of king. He showed himself worthy of the regal dignity, and sacrificed his life in fighting against the Turks, in defence of the nation who had placed him at their head.

Mary and Sigismond, A.D. 1382.

Sigismond alone, A.D. 1392.

Ladislaus V, A.D. 1403.

Albert of Austria, A.D. 1438.

Ladislaus VI, A.D. 1440.

Young Ladislaus had been educated in Germany, whither his mother had carried him for safety from the dangers by which his throne was environed.

The Hungarians now re-demanded him of the emperor Frederic, who accordingly ſent him back to them. During his minority, the celebrated John Corvin, a noble Hungarian, and ſon to John Hunniades, ſucceſsfully waged war againſt the Turks, and prepared the way for the good fortune of his ſon Matthias. A violent colic carried off Ladiſlaus in the vigor of his age.

The emperor aſſerted himſelf to be king of Hungary, becauſe he had in his poſſeſſion the crown of Saint Stephen, which Ladiſlaus's mother had taken with her to Germany when ſhe carried her ſon thither. But Matthias, the ſon of Corvin, being elected by the ſtates, paid little regard to that pretended title. He thought, nevertheleſs, that vulgar prejudice ought not to be too far overlooked among a ſuperſtitious nation: wherefore, having gained ſeveral victories over the emperor, he inſiſted on the reſtitution of that venerated relique, and cauſed himſelf to be crowned with it. He reigned with glory, being entitled to praiſe as well for his martial talents as for his love of literature. His natural ſon John Corvin, who preſented himſelf as candidate for the crown after his father's death, was not accepted by the Hungarians. They preferred to him Uladiſlaus king of Bohemia, who left his crown to his only ſon Lewis. This young prince periſhed in the diſaſtrous battle of Mohats againſt the Turks.

Matthias, A.D. 1458.

Uladiſlaus II, A.D. 1490. Lewis II, A.D. 1516.

Lewis having died without poſterity, two com-

petitors arose, Ferdinand archduke of Austria, and John Zapolski a Hungarian noble. They for some time supported their opposite claims by arms, but at length terminated the contest by an agreement that the Hungarian should retain during life that part of the kingdom which he had conquered, and that, after his death, it should revert to the Austrian. The latter pretended that the crown belonged to him of right, because he had married Anne the sister of the unfortunate Lewis: yet he thought it necessary to strengthen that title by the additional sanction of an election, which he obtained. Ferdinand, A.D. 1527.

His son Maximilian caused himself to be solemnly crowned at Presburg, and conducted himself as if that ceremony had been equivalent to an election. Maximilian, A.D. 1563.

His two sons, Rodolf and Matthias, who successively inherited the sceptre after him, imitated their father, but not without reclamations, frequently accompanied by armed resistance, on the part of the Hungarians. Rodolf, A.D. 1572. Matthias II, A.D. 1608.

These reclamations were attended with more or less danger to the house of Austria, according to the choice which the mal-contents made of their chiefs. Ferdinand, having obtained possession of the crown in consequence of a cession in his favour by his cousin Matthias who had no issue, was opposed by Bethleem-Gabor prince of Transylvania. Ferdinand II A.D. 1618.

His son, by name also Ferdinand, was in like manner compelled to defend himself against the Transylvanian prince George Ragotski. The two Ferdinand III, A.D. 1625.

Tranſylvanians received powerful ſupport from the proteſtants, who were alarmed by the well-known zeal of the houſe of Auſtria in favour of the catholic religion. In ſpite of the ſtrength of Germany, of which the two Ferdinands diſpoſed as emperors, the latter could only obtain a diſadvantageous peace from the mal-contents. At the price of ſome conceſſions, he was enabled to leave Hungary in a tolerably peaceful ſtate to his ſon, another Ferdinand, who quietly enjoyed the government.

Ferdinand IV, A.D. 1647.

That prince dying without iſſue, the ſceptre devolved to the hand of Leopold, ſecond ſon of Ferdinand III. In October 1687, Leopold cauſed the crown of Hungary to be declared hereditary in the houſe of Auſtria, and procured it to be placed on the head of his ſon the archduke Joſeph, who afterward became emperor, and died without male iſſue, leaving a widow who was incapable of ſupporting the rights of her daughters; ſo that, finally, by an accommodation that took place between the queen-dowager on the one hand, and on the other the mal-contents ſtill headed by Ragotſki, the diadem was conferred on the emperor Charles of Auſtria.

Leopold, A.D. 1655.

Joſeph, A.D. 1687.

Charles, A.D. 1712.

That prince, in a ſolemn diet held at Preſburg in 1723, obtained a declaration that the crown ſhould continue hereditary in favour of his female iſſue, in default of males. In virtue of that decree, his daughter Maria-Thereſa mounted the throne of

Maria-Thereſa, A.D. 1741.

Hungary without oppoſition after her father's death. By her affability and mildneſs and other great qualities ſhe completely won the affections of the Hungarians, from whom ſhe received ample ſupplies of money and of men in the wars which laſted during a great part of her reign, and which ſhe ſuſtained with glory. Her poſterity ſtill enjoy that crown, with the advantage of finding the Hungarians equally ready to give to them, as they had given to her, uſeful proofs of their attachment and fidelity in the hour of need.

In the midſt of thoſe barbarous tribes which during a long ſucceſſion of ages inundated the country, the indigenous blood of the ancient Hungarians and Sclavonians ſeems to have been preſerved in the nobles, together with the fierce valour of thoſe two martial nations. The bulk of the people is compoſed of Cumani, Raſcians, Jews, Ruſſians, Walachians, Greeks, Turks—brave ſoldiers, but difficult to be diſciplined. They uſually form the van of the German armies, and by their ſavage appearance ſpread terror and diſmay wherever they proceed.

States of the Empire.

The body of the empire is compoſed of the eccleſiaſtic and ſecular electorates. The former are three in number, Triers, Mentz, and Cologne; the latter, at preſent ſix, are the kingdoms of Bohemia and Brandenburg, the Palatinate, Saxony,

Bavaria, and the duchy of Hanover. Many other ſtates, biſhoprics, abbeys, cities, duchies, counties, principalities, belong alſo to the Germanic body; and among them are ſome which are very conſiderable, ſuch as the arch-duchy of Auſtria. Although the chief part of thoſe ſtates, conſidered in ſeparate points of view diſtinct from the general intereſt, preſent few important facts, it is nevertheleſs proper to aſſign to them ſome place in hiſtory, that there may be no interruption of its continuity.

Bohemia.

Bohemia, ſituate in the heart of Germany, is linked with the imperial confederation by its quality of electorate, but is independent of it with reſpect to its government. That kingdom is on every ſide ſurrounded by mountains, and by vaſt foreſts, the remains of the Hercynian foreſt, which form natural ramparts for its protection. It is fruitful in every kind of natural riches, and produces even diamonds, which, though very inferior to thoſe of the Aſiatic mines, are nevertheleſs deemed valuable. It has a peculiar language of its own. The peaſantry here, as in the reſt of Germany, are nearly degraded to the condition of ſlavery, and the nobles elevated almoſt to the rank of ſovereigns. The men are tall of ſtature, and the women endued with a bodily ſtrength which however is not deſtitute of grace. In general, the Bohemians ſet little

Bohemia, between Moravia, Saxony, Franconia, and Bavaria.

value on literature: they confine themſelves to domeſtic commerce, are good graſiers, and ſucceſsful agriculturiſts.

Tradition informs us, that, until the time of Charlemagne, the country had been inhabited by the Boii, a race of Gallic origin. The Marcomanni alſo penetrated into Bohemia: the Sclavi, too, a Sarmatian colony, invaded it, and gave prevalency to their own language and manners, which nearly reſembled thoſe of the wandering Scythians. The firſt of their chiefs whom hiſtory has made known to us aſſumed only the modeſt title of "governor," and was named Ezechias. This prince united the ſcattered tribes, and gave them laws, which received ſtability from Croc, who ſucceeded him by election. After the death of the latter, the Bohemians conferred the ſovereignty on Lybuſſa, the youngeſt of his daughters. She, being ſolicited to marry, fixed her choice on a young huſbandman named Premiſlaus, who became an excellent governor. He brought with him from his hut his ruſtic ſhoes and cloak, which he cauſed to be placed in a conſpicuous part of his palace, that they might inceſſantly remind him of his priſtine condition. On his death-bed he ordered that thoſe memorials ſhould be depoſited in a ſacred place, whence they ſhould be taken and expoſed to public view at each election. That practice was long obſerved, even under the kings.

Seven governors, whoſe names are preſerved in the annals *, bring us down to Botzivoi, in the year 890. He aſſumed the title of duke, and was the firſt Chriſtian ſovereign of the country. It is to be remarked, that, even at this early period, the Bohemians teſtified their wiſh that the divine ſervice ſhould be celebrated among them in the vernacular tongue. The popes, however, ordered that it ſhould be performed in Latin; and their will prevailed, though not without exciting murmurs. Botzivoi, under the influence of a devotional ſpirit, abdicated his high office, and cauſed to be elected as his ſucceſſor his ſon Spiligneus, who, dying at the end of two years, [† *was ſucceeded by his younger brother Wratiſlaus, who, at his death*] left two ſons under the tutelage of their mother Drahomira. She was an enemy to the Chriſtian religion, whereas, on the contrary, her huſband had been zealouſly attached to it. His eldeſt ſon Wenceſlaus imitated his father in that reſpect, and was very fervent in the practices of religion. His mother, diſguſted with his devotion, conſented to his being aſſaſſinated by his

Botzivoi, A.D. 890.

Spiligneus, A.D. 92.

Wratiſlaus, A.D 907.

Wenceſlaus, A.D. 916.

* One of theſe was named *Wenceſlaus*, whom we may account the *Firſt*, and number the others of the ſame name ſucceſſively after him. But that will not be ſufficient to reconcile the French abridgement with our Engliſh Univerſal Hiſtory, or either with itſelf. I therefore leave the ſucceeding princes of the name of *Wenceſlaus* without the uſual addition of II, III, IV, &c.

† The Italic words between the crotchets are taken in ſubſtance from the Engliſh Univerſal Hiſtory.

younger brother Boleſlaus. But the latter afterward became a Chriſtian, and endeavoured to obliterate the remembrance of his fratricide, and to make his ſubjects forget his ſurname of Cruel, which however has adhered to him. His ſon Boleſlaus received the appellation of the Pious; and a third Boleſlaus, his grandſon, was deſignated by that of the Blind; though we are not informed whether his blindneſs was corporeal or mental *. However that may have been, he declared himſelf incapable of governing, and renounced his authority. His ſon Jaromir was ſupplanted by his own uncle Udalric. To this uſurper ſucceeded his ſon Bretiſlaus, who was followed by Spiligneus, whoſe mother was of German birth. No doubt ſhe had introduced at court a great number of her countrymen, whoſe preſence was productive of diſturbance. Spiligneus baniſhed them all, without even excepting his mother.

Boleſlaus, A.D. 928.
Boleſlaus II, A.D. 967.
Boleſlaus III, A.D. 999.
Jaromir, A.D. 1002.
Udalric, A.D. 1012.
Bretiſlaus, A.D. 1043.
Spiligneus II, A.D. 1055,

His ſon Wratiſlaus took part in the quarrels between the emperors Henry III and Henry IV. The latter, victorious over his father, as an acknowledgment for the ſervices which he had received from the duke of Bohemia, and an equivalent for conſiderable ſums that he had borrowed of him, decorated him with the title of king in the year 1086. His eldeſt ſon Boleſlaus was, at the time

Wratiſlaus II, A.D. 1061.

* The Engliſh Univerſal Hiſtory ſays, that, "being perſuaded by "the king of Poland to come to Cracow to viſit him, he was there "perfidiouſly deprived of his ſight."

of his father's death, an exile from the kingdom on account of his diſobedience: wherefore the
Conrad, A.D. 1092. crown was conferred on his younger brother Conrad, who wore it only ſeven months. On his
Boleſlaus II, A.D. 1093. death, Boleſlaus re-entered into the enjoyment of his rights, and aſſumed the ſceptre, which he trans-
Botzivoi II, A.D. 1100. mitted to his brother Botzivoi, who was compelled
Suatopluc, A.D. 1107. to reſign it to his couſin Suatopluc. By the death of the latter, which was cauſed by aſſaſſination after a reign of two years, the crown came to
Uladiſlaus III, A.D. 1109. Wratiſlaus's third ſon Uladiſlaus, who was forced to ſhare his authority with his younger brother
Sobreſlaus, A.D. 1125. Sobreſlaus.

Sobreſlaus II, A.D. 1135. Uladiſlaus was ſucceeded by Sobreſlaus, not his brother who already poſſeſſed a part of the kingdom, but his own ſon. This latter had for ſuc-
Uladiſlaus II A.D. 1140. ceſſor his nephew Uladiſlaus II. Cabals, intrigues, force, the protection of the emperors of Germany, continued during a ſpace of near fifty years to raiſe to the Hungarian throne and hurl down from it a ſucceſſion of uncles and brothers and ſons and nephews, until at length the Bohemians, weary of thoſe changes, beſtowed their ſceptre on a worthy biſhop, of the blood of their prince, and by name
Henry, A.D. 1193. Henry, who governed them with wiſdom, and, before his death, reſigned the crown into the
Uladiſlaus III, A.D. 1196. hands of the ſtates. They conferred it on Uladiſlaus, who had endeavoured to wreſt it from Henry his relative. His attempts had coſt him his liberty: but, from the priſon in which he was con-

fined, the Bohemians called him forth to aſcend the throne. On the report of his elevation, haſtily appeared his brother Premiſlaus, whom poverty and perhaps the neceſſity of concealing himſelf had reduced to the humble employment of attending maſons in the city of Ratiſbon. In conſequence of an agreement between the two brothers, Uladiſlaus contented himſelf with Moravia, and reſigned Bohemia to Premiſlaus, who, previouſly to his death, cauſed his ſon Wenceſlaus to be crowned. The latter received the ſurname of Ottocarus, or the Victorious, which he transmitted to his ſon Premiſlaus. That prince [* *was ſucceeded by his ſon Wenceſlaus, who*] wore the crown of Poland, and declined that of Hungary, which he cauſed to be placed on the head of another Wenceſlaus, his ſon, though he afterward preferred that of Bohemia. This Wenceſlaus was the laſt of the deſcendents of Premiſlaus, whoſe poſterity reigned about five hundred years.

Premiſlaus II, A.D. 1196.
Wenceſlaus A.D. 1230.
Premiſlaus Ottocarus, A.D. 1255.
Wenceſlaus, A.D. 1278.
Wenceſlaus, A.D. 1305.

The Bohemians endeavoured to perpetuate on their throne that race for which they entertained a predilection, by placing on it Henry duke of Carinthia, who had eſpouſed the ſiſter of their late king. He found a competitor of the crown in Rodolf, ſon of the firſt emperor of that name, whom ſeveral of the nobles had elected: but Rodolf dying left the place vacant for Henry, who

Rodolf, A.D. 1306.
Henry, A.D. 1307.

* An addition from the Engliſh Univerſal Hiſtory.

was unable to maintain himself in it, and was expelled for his diforderly conduct.

The Bohemians, however, ſtill attached to the blood of their ancient king, invited to their throne another brother-in-law of Wenceſlaus, named John, of the houſe of Luxemburg. He was already poſſeſſed of fine ſtates of his own in Germany; and thoſe ſtates occupied a greater ſhare of his attention than he beſtowed on Bohemia. Beſides, his character was that of a roving adventurer, which did not allow him to ſettle any-where. That he might be more at liberty to purſue his intrigues and his rambling excurſions, he intruſted the care of Bohemia to his ſon Charles, who was only ſeventeen years old. The young prince ſucceeded perfectly well in the adminiſtration: his father grew jealous of him, and reſumed the reins of government. He again reſigned them to Charles, and ſo effectually wrought on the German princes, among whom he conſtantly lived, that he procured that ſame ſon to be elected king of the Romans. As to himſelf, ſtill hurried on by his taſte for adventures, he went to France in queſt of an opportunity of diſplaying his martial proweſs, and were there killed at the battle of Créci.

John, A.D. 1310.

To the imperial crown Charles added that of Bohemia. His memory ought to be dear to the Bohemians: for, different from his father, he preferred their country to his other ſtates, and made it his favourite reſidence. He there gave ſtability

Charles, A.D. 1347.

to as many useful institutions as he could, and himself laid the foundations of several, of which he recommended the completion to his son Wenceslaus. But this prince, wholly devoted to his pleasures, took little pains to fulfil the intentions of his father. His life, as we have seen in the history of the empire, was a tissue of extraordinary events: twice he was imprisoned by his subjects who were impatient of his irregularities: twice he escaped from his confinement, and not only re-ascended the Bohemian throne, but was even elevated to that of the empire. He was compelled to descend from the latter: nor did he regret his fall, since it left him more at liberty to abandon himself to luxury and debauchery. Amid these contemptible pursuits, death overtook him. Wenceslaus, A.D. 1378.

He was succeeded by his brother Sigismund, who was already king of Hungary, and also emperor. He found it a difficult task to secure on his head the Bohemian crown. The disciples of John Huss and Jerom of Prague, fearing his religious zeal, raised several competitors in opposition to him: but he removed them all by arms and money. With respect to the plebeian adherents of those sectaries, a dreadful butchery was made of them, when abandoned by their chiefs. Of the other cruelties exercised against them, a judgement may be formed from the following instance. Under pretext of a conference, a considerable number of the unfortunate wretches were Sigismund, A.D. 1419.

allured into a barn where the buſineſs was to be tranſacted; and, ſo ſoon as they were aſſembled there, it was ſet on fire.

Theſe barbarities, inſtead of deſtroying the ſect of the Huſſites, ſeemed to increaſe their numbers: and they gave much uneaſineſs to Sigiſmund's ſucceſſor, who was Albert of Auſtria, his ſon-in-law. This prince did not enjoy the Bohemian crown above two years, being worn out with fatigues and debauchery. He was ſucceeded by his poſtumous ſon Ladiſlaus under the guardianſhip of two miniſters, the one a catholic, the other a Huſſite. The young prince, having received the benefit of a good education, held forth the promiſe of a happy reign, when, by an intemperate exceſs in eating, he was carried off in the flower of his age. His death opened a field for the competition of ſeveral princes: two Auſtrians, a Saxon, a king of Poland, a prince of the blood royal of France, preſented themſelves as candidates for the vacant throne: but they were all rejected by the Bohemians, who ſaluted their own countryman George Podiebrad as their ſovereign. He courageouſly ſupported the choice of his compatriots againſt his foreign competitors and againſt the efforts of domeſtic faction.

Albert, A.D. 1438.

Ladiſlaus, A.D. 1440.

George Podiebrad, A.D. 1458.

After his death, the Bohemians again placed themſelves under the ſceptre of an alien. They invited to their throne Uladiſlaus, ſon of Caſimir king of Poland. Uladiſlaus, previouſly poſſeſſed

Uladiſlaus, A.D. 1471.

of the crown of Hungary, frequently abſented himſelf from Bohemia, and thus accuſtomed the people to ſubmit to be governed by his vicegerents. This prince had for his ſucceſſor his ſon Lewis, who unfortunately periſhed at the battle of Mohats, in which he imprudently engaged with the Turks. The Bohemians now conferred their crown on Ferdinand arch-duke of Auſtria, and afterward emperor, who had eſpouſed Anne, the only ſiſter of Lewis.

Lewis, A.D. 1516.

Ferdinand, A.D. 1525.

From that period, the kingdom of Bohemia has continued under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria as a hereditary poſſeſſion, like Hungary, and has had the ſame monarchs.

AUSTRIA.

Auſtria, between Moravia, Stiria, Hungary, and Bavaria.

Although Auſtria do not conſtitute a part of the empire as an electorate, we nevertheleſs think proper to place it after Bohemia, which has been preceded by Hungary, that the principal poſſeſſions of the houſe of Auſtria in Germany may follow each other in continuous order.

After the extinction of a family who had governed Auſtria from the year 928 to 1240, it fell into the hands of the emperor Rodolf as a fief of the empire, and was by him conferred on one of his ſons. In conſequence of this event, the houſe of Hapſburg changed their title, and aſſumed that of Auſtria, which they have ever ſince retained.

In 1477, the emperor Frederic beſtowed on it the title of an arch-duchy.

In Auſtria are found grain of various kinds, wine, excellent fruits, abundant paſtures, agreeable ſituations, and ſalubrious air. The inhabitants are lively, poliſhed, addicted to the arts and ſciences. They have always enjoyed happineſs under their ſovereigns. Thoſe princes, through affection for that patrimonial and hereditary ſtate, have frequently cauſed to redund upon it the advantages which they derived as well from the empire as from their other dominions: in conſequence of which attention, Auſtria having ever been carefully preſerved, and guarded from invaſion as far as was poſſible, is bleſt with wealth, and exhibits few veſtiges of thoſe calamities that march in the train of war. The hiſtory of her princes is blended with the general hiſtory of Germany.

Brandenburg.

Brandenburg, between Pomerania, Poland, and upper Saxony.

Brandenburg is the name of an electorate which the kings of Pruſſia have decorated with a regal crown. The governors, whom Henry I king of Germany had ſet over it in 926 to repel the northern barbarians who infeſted the marches or frontiers, rendered themſelves hereditary, under the title of *margraves*; but this heredity long depended on the conſent of the emperors, who frequently refuſed it, and conferred the dignity on

noblemen of their court, or on princes whom they wiſhed to gratify.

The margravate of Brandenburg was incorporated with the empire as a principality about the year 1142, and, as an electorate, in 1298. In 1415, the emperor Sigiſmund, being embarraſſed in his finances, ſold this electorate to Frederic burgrave of Nuremberg, the ſtock whence the reigning family have deduced their origin. From the commencement of the tenth century, to the time of Frederic II who in 1701 joined to the electorate the dignity of king of Pruſſia, hiſtory enumerates forty-one margraves, all martial princes, watchful and eager to enlarge their primitive poſſeſſions by the addition of ſuch others as ſuited them in their vicinity. It was by that mean that Pruſſia came into their hands: but they acquired it in ſucceſſive portions, and by the perſevering labour of ſeveral centuries, during which they bore the title of marquiſes, counts, and dukes, now of one and again of both Pruſſias.

PRUSSIA.

Pruſſia, between Poland, Saxony Pomerania, and the Baltic.

Pruſſia, advantageouſly ſituate for commerce, produces a great quantity of corn. Its light ſoil is well adapted to the production of culinary herbs; and it bears fruit-trees in abundance. Theſe formerly furniſhed the object of an advantageous trade: but the great woods diminiſh: meadow-grounds increaſe in proportion, and are

covered with a multitude of horned cattle. Game and horſes are not rare: and the country yields wax, pitch, hemp, honey, hops. During the prevalence of the weſterly and northerly winds, the ſea throws up conſiderable quantities of amber on the coaſts. The nature of that ſubſtance has long continued unknown: but at length inveſtigation has diſcovered it to be the produce of a bilious foam caſt out by the *cachalot*, a fiſh reſembling the whale.

The Pruſſians were idolaters till the eleventh century, when Chriſtianiſm began to make its way among them, but with very ſlow ſteps. At that period they had no form of government: they fed on raw fleſh—drank the blood of animals—adored reptiles, trees and particularly the oak, meteors, winds, tempeſts—and ſacrificed their priſoners. Polygamy was allowed among them: they committed adulterers to the flames, and killed through pity thoſe ſick perſons who were deemed incurable.

Pruſſia has long been divided into royal and ducal. The former was under the protection of the king but not of the republic of Poland, without dependency, as a free ſtate which conſented to teſtify its gratitude by ſome marks of deference and a ſlight pecuniary acknowledgement. Ducal Pruſſia, abandoned to the Teutonic knights for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing in it the Chriſtian religion, became their property and poſſeſſion.

Teutonic knights.

When the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa under-

took a cruſade in the twelfth century to reſcue the holy land from the dominion of the infidels, he took with him a great number of German nobles. After his death, which was cauſed by accident in the eaſt, thoſe volunteers choſe for their chief Frederic duke of Swabia, under whom they ſo ſignally diſtinguiſhed themſelves, that the king and the patriarch of Jeruſalem, conſidering them as very uſeful and even neceſſary for the preſervation of the holy places, conceived the idea of uniting them by a bond which ſhould prevent their future ſeparation. Purſuant to that plan, they formed them into a military order, under the name of Saint-Mary. Its members were all to be noblemen of German (or, in the language of thoſe days, *Teutonic*) birth.

Their firſt grand-maſter was elected in 1190. They pledged themſelves, in the ſame manner as the knights of Saint-John, to defend and preſerve the holy land. But, notwithſtanding their courage, they were driven from it, as well as thoſe of Saint-John, the rivals of their exploits. As the latter found an aſylum in Rhodes and in Malta, ſo the Teutonic order experienced an amicable reception from a duke of Mazovia, who offered them the poſſeſſion of Pruſſia yet immerſed in paganiſm, if they choſe to ſettle there.

In this propoſal they did not ſee any deviation from the plan of their original inſtitution, ſince, in fighting againſt the Saracens or againſt the

idolatrous Pruſſians, they ſhould equally labour for the propagation of the Chriſtian religion. They therefore zealouſly poured their armed miſſionaries into thoſe barbarous tracts, and became the ſovereigns of what is called ducal Pruſſia. But it was not always religious zeal that inſtigated them to unſheath their ſwords: they waged wars againſt Sweden and Denmark and Poland; and they attacked the Germans, who were as good Chriſtians as themſelves. From the part of Pruſſia which had been ceded to them, they had advanced into the royal diviſion; and they refuſed to do homage for it to Poland. Albert of Brandenburg, their grand-maſter, rather than ſubmit to that ceremony, preferred the alternative of abdicating his dignity, and abandoned all the poſſeſſions of his order in that province. In compenſation, the king of Poland gave him ducal Pruſſia, as an excluſive property. We have the ſtrongeſt reaſon to believe that this pretended delicacy of Albert, reſpecting the point of honour on occaſion of the homage, was only a trick preconcerted between the king of Poland and him, for the purpoſe of rendering him proprietor of ducal Pruſſia. As ſoon as he was inſtalled in his new dignity, he would no longer ſuffer any participants of his ſovereignty, and exerted himſelf to exclude the knights. They retired into Franconia, and afterward diſperſed. The Teutonic government expired in Pruſſia about the year 1500: but the

order ſtill ſubſiſts in ſeveral parts both of Germany and Italy, where it has commanderies known under the name of bailiwicks. There are both proteſtant and catholic commanders, the latter of whom are bound to the performance of daily prayers and the obſervance of celibacy. The grand-maſter of the order is elected by a general chapter, and receives his inveſtiture from the emperor. Charles-Alexander of Lorraine, decorated with that title by the emperor in 1769, cauſed the archduke Maximilian to be elected co-adjutor.

Modern Prussia.

Modern Pruſſia is a factitious kingdom, which has, within the ſpace of about two hundred years been ſucceſſively compoſed of various parts irregularly extending from Poland to the Rhine, with which river it communicates by the duchy of Cleves. There are few conſiderable ſtates in Germany with which thoſe of the elector of Brandenburg, king of Pruſſia, do not lie in contact in ſome point; a circumſtance which confers on him an importance in the eyes of moſt of the German princes, by whom he is feared, and whom he dreads in turn. Thoſe tracts were formerly peopled by the Suevi, the Veneti, the Saxons, and the Vandals; conſequently they long remained without any uniformity of manners: at preſent they have in general adopted thoſe of Germany. The inhabitants are very free in their religious

credence. The court profeſſes Calviniſm and Lutheraniſm. The country contains ſome colonies of French refugees, who cauſe the arts to flouriſh in it. Thoſe different tribes are tolerably happy, though living under a military and deſpotic government.

The houſe of Brandenburg occupy that throne which themſelves erected and conſolidated. Their name is Hohenzollern; and their origin is loſt in the remoteneſs of antiquity. So early as the year 800, we remark a Hohenzollern, count of Brandenburg, ſurnamed Taſſillon, whoſe deſcendents are conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhable in all the wars of Germany. It was about the middle of the fourteenth century that thoſe princes rendered their ſtates compact by adding to them pieces torn from the adjoining countries. The moſt important additions are the two Pruſſias, which the knights of the Teutonic order had acquired for the Chriſtian religion, and ſubjected to their own dominion. By repeated curtailments, the princes of Brandenburg at length completely wreſted them from that military order, of which they had rendered themſelves grand-maſters, and which they finally deſtroyed to their own great advantage. In 1415, as we have already obſerved, the electoral dignity was conferred on the marquiſes or margraves of Brandenburg.

Frederic I, A.D. 1417. The firſt who enjoyed it was Frederic, a deep politician and a conſummate warrior. In thoſe

talents, however, he was ſurpaſſed by his ſon Frederic II, ſurnamed Iron-tooth on account of his ſtrength, and alſo diſtinguiſhed by the more honourable epithet of Magnanimous. He declined the crowns of Poland and Bohemia, which he could not have rendered his own without committing acts of injuſtice. Frederic II, A.D. 1440.

Several of his ſucceſſors have likewiſe had ſurnames which by a ſingle word pourtrayed their characters—as Albert the Achilles, John the Cicero, Joachim the Neſtor. They all aggrandiſed themſelves either by conqueſts or alliances or bold ſtrokes of policy. Joachim the Second introduced the Lutheran religion into his ſtates. His ſon John-George was a prince of pacific diſpoſition. Joachim-Frederic is renowned for his prudence. John-Sigiſmund enlarged the extent of his ſtates by the addition of the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. His ſon George-William was, contrary to his own will, implicated in the wars of his more powerful neighbours, and beheld his ſtates inceſſantly ravaged by the imperial and Swediſh armies. He left them diſmembered, waſted, enfeebled, to Frederic-William, ſurnamed the Great Elector. Albert III, A.D. 1469. John, A.D. 1486. Joachim, A.D. 1499. Joachim II, A.D. 1535. John-George, A.D. 1572. Joachim-Frederic, A.D. 1598. John-Sigiſmund, A.D. 1608. George-William, A.D. 1619. Frederic-William, A.D. 1640.

He had attained only his twentieth year when he took poſſeſſion of his father's dominions. The valour and wiſdom which he diſplayed at that age were invariably conſpicuous in his conduct during the whole courſe of his life. He was prudent, provident, inacceſſible to the ſeductions of lawleſs

love, confining his deſires to his wife alone, agreeable in ſociety, a pleaſing table-companion, lively and paſſionate, but ſoon appeaſed. Mild, moreover, and humane, he never engaged in war unleſs compelled by neceſſity. He is conſidered as the reſtorer of the power of his family, and the founder of its glory. He has been ſurnamed the Great.

Frederic III, A.D. 1688. His ſon Frederic III, ſeeing himſelf poſſeſſed of a well-eſtabliſhed authority which was ſtrengthened by an excellent army and ſupported by abundant financial reſources, undertook to place over his ducal cap a regal crown, and ſucceeded in the attempt. The title of king was granted to him by the emperor Leopold in 1701. It made no addition to his power: it only pleaſed his vanity, and gratified his taſte for ceremony.

His wife Sophia-Charlotte of Hanover diſtinguiſhed herſelf by her literary merit as well as by the characteriſtic virtues of her ſex. She introduced into Pruſſia the ſpirit of ſociety, true politeneſs, and a love of the arts and ſciences. The academy of Berlin owes to her its foundation: ſhe invited to it ſeveral learned men,—among others Leibnitz, the celebrated metaphyſician, whom ſhe frequently embarraſſed by her queſtions. "It is impoſſible," ſaid he to her, "to ſatisfy you: you inſiſt upon "knowing the *why of the wherefore.*"—In her laſt illneſs, ſhe refuſed the attendance of a miniſter of her own religion, with whom probably ſhe

could not have co-incided in ſentiment. Being preſſingly urged on the ſubject, "Suffer me to "die," ſhe anſwered, "without any controverſy." To one of her maids of honour who wept by her bed-ſide, "Weep me not," ſaid ſhe: "for I am "now going to ſatisfy my curioſity reſpecting the "principles of things, which Leibnitz has never "been able to explain to me—concerning ſpace, "infinity, entity, non-entity; and I am preparing "for the king my huſband the exhibition of a "funereal pomp in which he will have an oppor-"tunity of diſplaying all his magnificence." In effect he honoured her with ſplendid obſequies. That prince, ſo paſſionately fond of ſhow, was remarkable for deformity; inſomuch that the queen uſed to call him her Æſop. It has been ſaid of him, that he was great in little matters, and little in great. Nevertheleſs he had the happy art of preſerving his ſtates in the calm ſunſhine of peace while thoſe of his neighbours were ravaged by the tempeſt of war; which certainly was no ſmall merit. But he has the misfortune to hold his ſtation in hiſtory between a father and a ſon by whoſe ſuperior talents he is eclipſed.

That ſon was Frederic-William, the ſecond king of Pruſſia, who aſcended the throne in 1713, at the age of twenty-five. The famous war of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion was then drawing to a cloſe; and the peace which ſoon after enſued allowed Frederic an opportunity of ſucceſsfully devoting

Frederic-William II, A.D. 1713.

his attention to the proſperity of his kingdom. In his private life he adopted a ſyſtem quite the reverſe of that purſued by his father, being equally parcimonious and inimical to oſtentation as the other had been enamoured of luxury and expenſive ſhow. In his court he was auſtere: and his wife and children experienced from him traits of ſeverity which would have been juſtly condemned in a private individual. He was never known to diſplay liberality except where his troops were concerned. He was prodigal in that inſtance, and expended conſiderable ſums in forming a regiment of men of gigantic ſtature: that was the darling object of his paſſion: but if he be liable to blame on that account, he is on the other hand entitled to praiſe for having furniſhed Europe with the example of that ſtrict diſcipline and watchful ſuperintendence which provide for all the wants of the ſoldiery, but ſuffer none of their tranſgreſſions to paſs unpuniſhed.

That the peaſantry might not be incommoded by the reſidence of the army, he diſtributed it through the towns, and occaſionally aſſembled it in the country for the performance of general evolutions, and alſo for the ſake of rendering the manœuvres more familiar to them by their acting together. As too numerous levies might have enervated the agricultural body, each captain had orders to recruit as much as he could in the territories of the empire. At the ſame time it muſt be

obſerved, that, in Pruſſia as in Switzerland, every male is by birth a ſoldier.

Frederic-William favoured commerce, manufactures, the arts, and encouraged them by rewards. A dropſy, which tormented him during ſix years, did not prevent him from beſtowing his attention, to his laſt hour, on the affairs of government. With the preciſion of a natural philoſopher he examined the progreſs of his diſeaſe, and marked its period without terror. At his death he left an army of ſixty-ſix thouſand men, which he had ſupported by his œconomy, without over-burdening his ſubjects. His treaſury moreover was full, and a wonderful order was eſtabliſhed in every department of public affairs.

At the age of twenty-eight, his ſon Frederic II mounted the throne. Though educated like a private individual, and not initiated in any of the ſciences, he was enabled by the ſtrength of his genius to ſeiſe them all. He cultivated them as beſeemed a king, without becoming a ſlave to his taſte, or ſuffering them to ſteal from him any of thoſe moments which were deſtined to the performance of his duty. By an attempt to eſcape from the deſpotic rule of his father, he once expoſed himſelf to the riſque of loſing his life: nor did he entirely eſcape puniſhment, ſince he was compelled to attend at the execution of a young friend who had been the aſſociate of his flight and diſobedience. While the axe fell on the neck of

Frederic II, A D. 1740.

the unfortunate youth, four grenadiers forcibly held the prince's head turned toward the ſcaffold. His father kept him ſome time in priſon, and forced him to drudge in the war-office and that of finance, undiſtinguiſhed from the other perſons employed there; and it was not until after his marriage that he allowed him ſome little liberty: nor was it in purſuance of his own inclination that he put on the hymeneal chain, but in compliance with the will of that abſolute and inflexible parent.

During a retirement of eight years which followed his marriage, Frederic employed his time in profound meditations on all the parts of government, and principally on war, which he conſidered as eſſential to the ſupport of his kingdom. Seeing himſelf ſurrounded by powerful and jealous neighbours,—either for the ſake of maintaining his army or of training it to war, he ſold his ſervices now to one prince, now to another, and thus counteracted their malevolence. By this conduct he acquired the ability to reſiſt them, when, tired of theſe alternations and of what they termed his infidelities, they all united to cruſh him. The Pruſſian monarch aſtoniſhed his enemies by a new and ſkilful ſyſtem of tactics, by the celerity of his movements. At his command, entire armies rather flew than marched. Himſelf, after having gained a victory on one frontier of his ſtates, was ſeen two days after, at the head of another army which

he had joined in that interval, reaping freſh laurels at the oppoſite extremity of his dominions. It was his grand principle, that none but the ſtubbornly perſeverant are ſucceſsful. Accordingly he was known to make in a ſingle day ſeven aſſaults on a fortified camp, and finally to carry it.

To Frederic II might be applied that almoſt untranſlatable expreſſion of the poet *, "*deliberatâ morte ferocior.*" Determined to conquer or die, he inſpired his ſoldiers with formidable courage; and, when once his preparations were made, he returned to the calm ſerenity of a man diſencumbered of all ſolicitude. We have from his pen letters and pieces of poetry compoſed in his tent during the night preceding a deciſive battle, none of which betrays any ſymptoms of the confuſion of a camp, or of the anxieties attendant on the awful moment.

The ſolitary lucubrations of the *philoſopher of Sans-ſouci* † (the name of his palace of eaſe) will aſtoniſh poſterity, as they are an object of admiration to his contemporaries. Some of them are uſeful, others agreeable. The former claſs compriſes a "Hiſtory of the Houſe of Brandenburg," on a grand ſcale, and in a manner worthy of a king—the "Frederician Code," remarkable for

* Horace, Od. i. 37, 29.

† *Sans-ſouci* (void of care) might not unaptly be rendered *Careleſs-Hall.*

the imperious brevity of its laws—his principles of government, laid down, in a manner which does him honour, in his "Anti-Machiavel"—his own "Annals," which may well ſtand a competition with Cæſar's Commentaries. He has, over the Roman, the advantage of having conſigned to verſe, in a "Poem on the Art of War," the precepts which he reduced to practice. His poems betray philoſophic drineſs: they are written in French, his favourite language: but, notwithſtanding the correctneſs and purity which he affected, they are not free from Germaniſms. He felt with too much ſenſibility any criticiſm on thoſe little defects. Frederic undertook to contend againſt Voltaire: and the poet, ſufficiently imprudent to refuſe deference to a man who had armies at his command, ſuffered mortifications which reflect no credit on the monarch. On the whole, however, Frederic has by far the advantage over him in their correſpondence. A great ſuperiority is remarkable on the part of the king when they treat of political ſubjects, the intereſts of princes, and particularly religion. Though the monarch admits the neceſſity of regulating the religious opinions of his ſubjects, he ſpeaks with a moderation which forms a ſtriking contraſt with the bitter zeal and enthuſiaſtic rancor of the poet.

Frederic II died in 1786, at the age of ſeventy-four, leaving no iſſue either by his wife whom he treated as a ſimple acquaintance, or by any other

woman. Calumny has attributed to a vicious cauſe his indifference to the fair ſex. To an advanced age, his chief amuſement, next to the converſation of literary men, was muſic, in which he excelled.

It would be difficult to inſtance a life ſo full of employment as his. All affairs paſſed through his hands. At five o'clock of the morning, in winter equally as in ſummer, his ſecretaries were ſummoned to their taſks under his own inſpection. He continued his occupations even under the painful torture of his laſt illneſs, which was a dropſy. "He "preſerved," ſays an eye-witneſs, "a ſerene and "tranquil countenance, without ever making men- "tion of his diſeaſe, or of death. He entertained "us in the moſt rational and cordial manner. "The converſation turned on the affairs of the "times, literature, ancient and modern hiſtory of "which he was perfect maſter, and principally on "agriculture and horticulture which he conſtantly "favoured."

But the government of his kingdom, and the relief of his ſubjects who had been haraſſed by the wars, were, during thoſe laſt years, the chief objects of his reflexions. In fine, he did not ceaſe to be a king until he ceaſed to be a man. Frederic was the Neſtor among the monarchs of his century. Originally framed with a feeble conſtitution, he had rendered it robuſt by the habits of fatigue and toil. He is reproached with deſpotiſm, and with

ſome acts of harſh ſeverity which were the natural conſequences of it. Indifferent, as we have before obſerved, to the myrtle of Venus, he merited the two-fold laurels of Mars and of Apollo. He left to his brother's ſon a flouriſhing kingdom, and a military force capable of rendering him the arbiter of Europe.

Saxony.

Saxony, between Luſatia, Brandenburg, Anhalt, and Miſnia.

Divided into ſeveral circles, Saxony contains a multitude of principalities. It is fertile of every kind of natural productions, and celebrated for its mines. Being traverſed by great rivers, and extending to the Baltic, it enjoys a flouriſhing commerce. In addition to Saxony, the elector alſo poſſeſſes Miſnia. The Saxons are tall, robuſt, ſociable, addicted to the pleaſures of the table. Their *nobleſſe* do not admit any matrimonial alliances with perſons of inferior birth: nor are they always ſatisfied with puniſhing ſuch degeneracy by contempt and an excluſion from their body: there are families who have purſued even to death the perſons who had been guilty of it. It will not appear matter of ſurpriſe that Lutheraniſm ſhould be the prevailing religion in the country which gave birth to Luther. In no other part is the German language ſpoken with ſuperior grace and purity.

From the hereditary courage of the Saxons an argument has been drawn in proof of their ſup-

poſed deſcent from the Macedonians; and their name has encouraged the opinion that they derive their origin from the Sacæ, a Scythian tribe. In ancient times they were governed by twelve chiefs, probably the moſt diſtinguiſhed of their warriors. Charlemagne conferred on the Saxons a fatal celebrity by butchering ſuch of them as refuſed to be converted to Chriſtianiſm. At that period their nation extended to the bank of the Rhine. Their chief was named Wittekind: he long oppoſed the efforts of Charlemagne, but finally ſubmitted. The ſubſequent ſovereigns of Saxony have uniformly aſſerted themſelves to be deſcended from that illuſtrious hero; and the reigning family ſtill pride themſelves on that origin. They count among their progenitors ſeveral great men honoured with the ſurnames of the Grave, the Pacific, the Conſtant, the Pious, the Magnanimous: ſome of their number wore crowns, others declined them. From the middle of the ninth century when the ſucceſſion of the dukes of Saxony began, to our days, we reckon thirty-ſix almoſt without interruption: which circumſtance proves that the generality of thoſe princes attained an advanced age, though living, for the moſt part, amid the dangers of war. Frederic-Auguſtus, who died in 1763, had by the ſame wife, Mary-Joſeph of Auſtria, eleven children living, by means of whom he contracted alliances with the firſt houſes of Europe, whoſe daughters

were married to the princes, and whoſe ſons wedded the princeſſes.

Bavaria.

Bavaria, between Bohemia, Auſtria, Swabia, Franconia, and Tirol.

Bavaria formerly bore the title of a kingdom. Its limits then extended far beyond its preſent bounds. Modern Bavaria includes a number of conſiderable cities, ſome of which, being imperial, are exempt from the juriſdiction of the elector. In the thirteenth century, a duke of Bavaria, named Lewis II, having united in his own perſon all the poſſeſſions of his anceſtors, divided them between his ſons Rodolf and Lewis. The former received for his ſhare the palatinate of the Rhine—the latter, Bavaria. Between theſe two branches a family-compact was made, by which they inſured to each other reciprocal ſucceſſions and reverſions. Thoſe ſame ſtates, after having frequently paſſed from the one to the other branch, were again united in 1777 under the ſceptre of Charles-Theodore, elector palatine; and the electorate of Bavaria has to the preſent day remained ſuppreſſed, after having reckoned forty-two dukes ſince the tenth century. The predominant religion there is the catholic.

Palatinate.

Upper Palatinate, between Bavaria, Franconia, and Bohemia.

The palatinate derives its name from the palatines, or counts of the palace, to whom the kings of Germany intruſted the adminiſtration of dif-

ferent provinces. They were originally the chief houſehold officers in the palaces of thoſe princes. There were counts palatine of Franconia, of Swabia, of Saxony, of Bavaria, and of other parts in that tract of Germany, during the decadence of the empire of Charlemagne. It would be a difficult taſk to particulariſe the peoples of thoſe ſeveral palatinates, that is to ſay, to indicate the origin of each. The mixture of languages which prevailed in thoſe countries was a proof of the mixture of nations. By an inceſſant flux and reflux, the Gauls, the Romans, the Germans of every race and every denomination, approached to and receded from the borders of the Rhine. The neceſſity of underſtanding each other cauſed them reciprocally to adopt certain words which became common to them all, whence was formed the language called *Romance*, ſpoken in the north of France. It had for its baſis the Latin. But the Dutch or ancient German gained the prevalency and has to the preſent time continued among the Germans on both ſides of the Rhine, where however it is leſs pure than in the centre of Germany.

Lower Palatinate, between Mentz, Alſace, and Triers.

It appears that the other palatinates were aboliſhed toward the cloſe of the tenth century; from which period that of the Rhine alone continued remarkable. The ſeat of this palatinate was the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle. There the palatine kept the imperial ornaments; whence it has been ſuppoſed, that, in caſe of a vacancy of the throne, he acted

as vice-governor of the empire. We have a liſt of thoſe princes or palatines from the year 993 to 1214, when the palatinate came, by a family-arrangement, into the houſe of Bavaria. That family furniſhed ſeveral dynaſties: the firſt was called the Rodolphine: the ſecond, named the Robertine, ended in 1410: the third, denominated the electoral of Heidelberg, continued till 1559: the fourth, of Simmeren, became extinct in 1585. Frederic III of this branch, who was ſurnamed the Pious, eſtabliſhed Calviniſm in his ſtates. To this dynaſty ſucceeded that of the princes of Neuburg, which ſubſiſted till 1772, when Charles-Theodore of the branch of Sultzbach, already elector of Bavaria, united the palatinate to his former dominions. On his death, it paſſed, in purſuance of ancient compacts, to the branch of Zwey-bruch or Deux-ponts.

In the countries interſected by or lying near to the Rhine, it would be difficult to find any caſtles of fortreſſes whoſe battered baſtions do not betray the veſtiges of hoſtility—any towns which are not built on the aſhes of their former edifices—any plains which have not been drenched with blood. Even recently, under the reign of Louis XIV, the palatinate experienced all the horrors of devaſtation. One would think that this unfortunate country was at all times devoted to carnage and conflagration. In 1452, under one of its princes named Frederic II, it was cruelly ravaged by

eighteen neighbouring princes who had formed a league againſt him. He defeated them: and three princes, with a multitude of nobles, fell into his hands. In his caſtle of Heidelberg, Frederic gave to thoſe illuſtrious priſoners a magnificent repaſt, in which every thing elſe was ſerved up in abundance, while bread alone was omitted. The gueſts calling for ſome, "It is proper," replied the prince, "to cauſe the want of bread to be felt by "thoſe who come to ravage the country, to de- "ſtroy the harveſts, to burn the barns and grana- "ries, to demoliſh the mills, and reduce the un- "offending huſbandman to mendicity." From the commencement of the tenth century to the preſent day, are numbered thirty-eight princes palatine, whoſe ſucceſſion was often united and confounded with that of the princes of Bavaria.

Brunswick-Hanover.

States of Brunſwick-Hanover, between Luneburg, Magdeburg, Halberſtadt, and Lippe.

The houſe of Brunſwick who poſſeſs the electorate of Hanover, and the houſe of Eſte who poſſeſs the ſtates of Modena in Italy, acknowledge as their common parent the marquis Azzan or Azo, ſovereign of Milan and Genoa and ſeveral parts of Lombardy at the concluſion of the tenth century. Cunegunda, heireſs of the Welfs, at that time the moſt powerful houſe in the centre of Germany, brought him the domains of her family in Germany and Bavaria.

Azzan gave birth to two flouriſhing branches which have poſſeſſed extenſive ſtates in Germany and Italy. The branch of Luneburg aſſumed the title of Brunſwick at the commencement of the thirteenth century. It is remarkable that prince William, the ſtock of that branch, was, by one of thoſe ſingular incidents of the twelfth century, born of an Engliſhwoman, and in England, of which his deſcendents were to wear the crown after the lapſe of ſix centuries. Another ſingularity is, that, at the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, the Luneburg branch being overſtocked with ſeven brothers, they agreed after their father's death that only one of their number ſhould marry, being apprehenſive of weakening the power of their family if they expoſed themſelves to the chance of leaving too many heirs entitled to ſhare its eſtates. The electorate of Hanover is the moſt recent of all, having been created in 1708 * in favour of George I. It belongs to the branch of Brunſwick-Luneburg, who, to their ſtates in Germany, have added the crown of England. But, before it was proclaimed an electorate, that country numbered thirty-four princes from the end of the tenth century. The laſt is George III. In 1760, William ſucceeded Auguſtus I, ſon of the firſt elector.

* Created in 1692 in favour of Erneſt-Auguſtus, but conteſted by the electoral college, and afterward confirmed in 1708.

Other States of Germany.

What we might have to ſay of the three eccleſiaſtic electorates of Mentz and Triers and Cologne, would be little intereſting to a reader unacquainted with thoſe countries. As to the reſt of Germany, it is full of principalities, biſhoprics, abbeys of men and women, enjoying the rights of ſovereignty. A number of powerful families, all united by matrimonial connexions, poſſeſs the ſecular ſtates, under the various titles of counties, marquiſates, lordſhips, margravates, burgravates, rheingravates, and under denominations more or leſs known. They have all produced famous warriors, and men eſtimable for other qualifications. The numerous books which have been written concerning them would alone form an ample library. In this country of ſlaviſh thraldom, the praiſe of mildneſs and humanity is beſtowed on thoſe princes who do not render the yoke of ſervitude inſupportably heavy. It is generally leſs galling in the diſtricts ſubject to eccleſiaſtic dominion. Mentz, riers, Cologne.

All thoſe princes, great and ſmall, eccleſiaſtic and ſecular, enjoy every right of ſovereignty, coin money, and levy troops. That diverſity of coins of different denominations and ſtandard throw a conſiderable embarraſſment in the way of commerce, which is alſo ſhackled by the tolls payable on the paſſage from one territory to another. There was a time when thoſe princes, ſummoned

by the imperial mandates, perſonally conducted their vaſſals to war. Biſhops and abbots and even abbeſſes have been ſeen to exchange their croſiers for the truncheons of military command. Theſe troops, and thoſe furniſhed by the imperial cities which do not ſend the richeſt and braveſt of their citizens, form what is called the "quota of the "empire," which aſſembles ſo ſlowly, takes the field ſo late, and quits it ſo early.

The government of the great cities is almoſt every-where an ariſtocracy of the rich, with a greater or leſſer admixture of democracy, and ſubject to much confuſion and diſturbance. They mutually render the ſervice of ſending troops to each other to quell the quarrels which ariſe among their inhabitants. Sometimes alſo, at their requeſt or againſt their will, the emperor or the neighbouring princes interfere in their diſputes. But thoſe interpoſitions, though made by force of arms, do not impair the ſovereignty of the cities to which that aſſiſtance is given; becauſe, if the mediator attempted to take advantage of it for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing his own dominion there, they would all unite againſt him as an oppreſſor. The meaſures purſued on ſuch occaſions are regulated by what is called the "public law of Germany." It is a very complicate ſcience, and requires great ſtudy: wherefore the doctors who poſſeſs it are very proud of that attainment. It muſt nevertheleſs be acknowledged that the laws which con-

ſtitute that code, however eſtimable in themſelves, reſemble in their effect all thoſe others which have been ingeniouſly compared to cobwebs that "catch the ſmaller flies, but let the greater paſs "through."

United Provinces.

United Provinces, between the German Ocean, Weſtphalia, and the Auſtrian Netherlands.

The name of Low Countries, which has been given to Flanders, indicates its ſituation below Germany, whoſe waters flow down to it. The lands in the northern part, being preſſed by the ſea which forces back the rivers, ſeem conſtantly expoſed to a general inundation. They are inceſſantly menaced with ſubmerſion, either by the foamy billows of the vaſt ocean which ſometimes furiouſly aſſault the dikes and make breaches in them, or by the more peaceful waves of the rivers which ſilently corrode that ſwampy ſoil, inſinuate themſelves into it, and form caverns beneath its ſurface, whence the entire country received the name of Holland, which ſignifies *Hole-land* or *Hollow-land*.

The lands here, little elevated above the ſurface of the waters which ſurround and moiſten them, bathed moreover with heavy dews, are clothed with a luxuriant verdure, ſeldom withered by the heat of the ſun, which is weakened in its paſſage through a thick atmoſphere. In thoſe rich paſtures ſlowly ſtray numerous herds ſwollen in bulk by the abundance and nutritive juice of their food,

but by the ſame cauſe alſo rendered very prolific. Theſe conſtitute the indigenous wealth of the country, to which induſtry has joined the opulence ariſing from an active and extended commerce. The Dutch have the reputation of not being very delicate reſpecting the nature of their gains: whence it has been humorouſly ſaid of their country, that "the dæmon of gold, crowned with "tobacco-leaves, ſits there on a throne of cheeſe."

Of the various tribes who inhabited thoſe fens in remote times, the Batavians were the moſt celebrated. Hiſtory informs us that they were never ſubdued by the Romans, though often attacked. They became the friends of thoſe republicans, and merited their eſteem as well by their valour as by their probity. The emperors maintained a corps of them for their body-guard. The modern Batavians have not degenerated from their anceſtors: the blood which flows in their veins has always boiled with generous courage whenever tyranny attempted any inroad on their liberties. The name of "Country," which has ſometimes produced miracles, has a powerful influence on the Dutch of every rank and order in the ſtate: it cauſes the laws to be reſpected, and the public charges to be borne without a murmur.

Liberality is not to be reckoned among the virtues of the Dutch: their œconomy frequently degenerates into avarice. They delight to incruſt the walls of their houſes with marble or Delft-

ware, to ornament them with mirrors, to cover them with valuable tapeſtries and with pictures by the beſt maſters, to tread on ſumptuous carpets and fine mats, to pile their buffets with pyramids of the moſt beauteous porcelain. Their wives arrange them for ſhow, but rarely tranſpoſe them to the table, which is habitually ſpread with the ſtricteſt frugality. A Dutchman will very ſeldom lay before you any one of thoſe ſuperfluous articles for which he in a manner begs your admiration: his only fruition of them conſiſts in your aſtoniſhment.

The cleanlineſs of the Dutch is by ſome people accounted a national mania: but it is a wiſe precaution, which the humidity of the ſurrounding atmoſphere renders neceſſary. The houſes are waſhed from the top to the bottom at leaſt once a week. The wainſcots are rubbed every day, and are often new-painted; which prevents the propagation of inſects generated by moiſture. In a Dutch houſehold the kitchen utenſils are bright, the dairy-veſſels clean and gloſſy. In general the women beſtow leſs attention on their own perſons than on their furniture. They are imperious and chaſte. The unmarried females give way a little to gallantry: but, after marriage, they rigidly abſtain from illicit indulgences. Nobility has been preſerved in the republic: but the nobles make no great figure, as they are deſtitute of privileges.

Brutality is the characteriſtic of the ſea-faring mob: the populace of the towns is rudely booriſh, and ſordidly avaricious. The Dutch burgher is the moſt phlegmatic of the human race, dull and melancholy even in the midſt of his pleaſures.

The Romans beſtowed the name of Belgium on the countries ſituate to the North of Gaul. They diſtinguiſhed a two-fold Belgium, the one compriſing Brabant and its appendages—the other containing the provinces lying neareſt to the ſea, which compoſe the Batavian confederacy. Theſe countries appear to have all been originally governed by kings more or leſs powerful. One of thoſe princes, by name Civilis, gained ſeveral victories over the Roman general Cerealis. The fierce and martial character of theſe tribes induced the emperors to entertain ſtrong garriſons on the banks of the Rhine. After having been involved in the troubles of the empire, the Batavians fell under the dominion of Charlemagne and his deſcendents. On the extinction of that family, thoſe provinces experienced many internal revolutions before they enjoyed a fixed and permanent government. At one time they were ſeparate and independent of each other; at other times they formed but one ſtate under a ſingle chief, or were divided into duchies and counties. Frieſland has been a kingdom, Brabant and Guelderland a duchy, Flanders and Holland a county. The

biſhops of Utrecht have been ſovereign as well as ſome of their neighbours; and thoſe prelates oftener handled the ſword than the croſier.

In their conteſts all thoſe princes frequently invoked the interpoſition of the French kings, who naturally caſt an eye of regret on thoſe provinces which had once bowed under their dominion. They treated the Flemings as ſubjects or as vaſſals, and demanded of them the payment of tribute, according as circumſtances allowed them to enlarge or compelled them to contract their pretenſions. Hiſtory makes mention of two memorable battles gained over the Flemings by Philip and Charles the Fair. Thoſe people, in conſequence of their local poſition, neceſſarily took part in the quarrels between France and England.

The ſcourge of war, elſewhere ſo deſtructive, did not prevent Flanders from flouriſhing. The country was prodigiouſly populous in proportion to its extent, was covered with opulent cities, and already celebrated for its commerce and induſtry, when, paſſing from the elder houſe of Burgundy which had ſprung from king Robert and was now extinct, it fell at the commencement of the fifteenth century into the poſſeſſion of the younger houſe, of which Philip, ſon of king John, was the head. Thoſe princes ſwayed the ſceptre with mildneſs: conciliating the nobles, reſpecting the privileges of the towns, they lived ſplendidly in the midſt of their ſubjects, without loading them

with taxes. If Flanders maintained herſelf in a brilliant ſtate even when ſometimes reluctantly dragged into the vortex of intrigues and wars by her firſt dukes, how great the improvement of her condition under a pacific and nearly paternal government! Accordingly we find, that, at the period in queſtion, her induſtry, the variety of her manufactures, with the elegance of her various productions in gold and ſilver and wool, laid under contribution the luxury of other countries, and accumulated immenſe riches within her territory.

A marriage beſtowed theſe opulent provinces on the houſe of Auſtria. The emperor Maximilian eſpouſed Mary of Burgundy, daughter and ſole heireſs of Charles the Raſh, the laſt duke of that family. This princeſs was mother to Philip the Fair, who, by his marriage with Joan the Fooliſh, became king of Arragon and Caſtile. He died young, and left all his ſtates to his ſon Charles V, at whoſe acceſſion, ſeveral of the provinces which now compoſe the Dutch republic claimed a kind of independence: but the power of Charles, aided by his political reſources, ſoon compelled them to return to their former obedience.

In receiving the Netherlands from Charles V at the time of his abdication, his ſon Philip II too ſtrongly imbibed the idea that the inhabitants of thoſe provinces, who had given to his father ſome cauſes of diſſatisfaction, were captiouſly jealous

and turbulent. Inſtead of endeavouring to win them by gentleneſs, he thought it became him to aggravate the burden of his yoke upon their necks. Harſhly treated, ever received with auſtere gravity, the Flemings thought they could perceive that Philip diſliked them. They miſtruſted his intentions: they viewed all his actions with ſuſpicious eye, and ſtood on their guard againſt him as againſt an enemy. Thoſe reciprocal diſpoſitions may be conſidered as the firſt principle of that revolution which wreſted the United Provinces from the hands of the houſe of Auſtria.

The commercial relations of the Flemings with Germany and France had introduced among them the doctrines of Luther and Calvin. Charles V promulgated rigorous edicts againſt the profeſſors of the new dogmata in every part of his dominions. He attempted to enforce thoſe mandates in the Netherlands. His ſiſter Margaret queen of Hungary, whom he had appointed gouvernante of the Low Countries, mitigated, with the conſent of her brother himſelf, the ſeverity of his ordinances. But her nephew Philip II, now become abſolute maſter, ſhowed himſelf inflexible. With the view of having the ſectators of reform more cloſely watched, and of retarding their progreſs, he determined to eſtabliſh among them the inquiſition. At his departure for Spain where he had reſolved to fix his abode, he nominated his natural ſiſter Mary ducheſs of Parma gouvernante of the Netherlands, but in

ſubordination, not to ſay entire ſubmiſſion, to the orders of cardinal Granvelle, who was in the king's ſecrets.

That miniſter's firſt care was employed in forming the tribunal of the inquiſition. The Flemings could not behold his preparations without expreſſing their horror. The gouvernante, alarmed by the movements which were perceivable, warned her brother of the danger of a general revolt. He anſwered that he "preferred being without ſubjects to reigning over heretics." Nevertheleſs he recalled the cardinal, and mitigated his edicts, in conſequence of the repreſentations of the count Egmont, a Flemiſh noble much loved and reſpected, whom the ducheſs had ſent to convey the wiſhes of the people to Spain.

But, under the feigned ſemblance of a relaxation of the law, the tribunal nevertheleſs continued its ſanguinary executions. The people perceived themſelves to be mocked. The inhabitants of ſeveral towns revolted, burſt open the priſons, and ſnatched from the executioners their victims. In 1560 a confederacy was formed, by which the parties pledged themſelves never to ſuffer the inquiſition in any poſſible ſhape which it might aſſume, whether it ſhould proceed by the mode of informations, domiciliary viſits, clandeſtine impriſonments, or public trials. This covenant was ſigned by all the proteſtants and by a multitude of catholics, nobles, burghers, merchants, artiſans,

and huſbandmen. At the ſame time they ſent deputies to Madrid. As Philip was not ready, he liſtened to their remonſtrances with ſufficient mildneſs: meanwhile, however, he was preparing a formidable armament compoſed of his beſt German and Italian and Spaniſh ſoldiers, commanded by experienced officers, under the famous duke of Alva. The haughty and fanatic and cruel character of that general every-where ſpread terror and diſmay.

He arrived in the Netherlands at the commencement of the year 1567, and ſhowed his orders: whereupon the gouvernante, ſeeing that nothing more than a ſhadow of very precarious authority was left to her, retired from her ſtation. The duke ſeiſed all the fortreſſes, gave unlimited power to the inquiſition, eſtabliſhed a council of twelve perſons who were empowered to take cogniſance of the late diſturbances, and rigorouſly to puniſh ſuch as were ſuſpected on the ſcore of religion. It was called the "bloody tribunal." All thoſe who had demanded a mitigation of the edicts were treated as traitors. The magiſtrates who, compelled by the circumſtance of the times, had tolerated the aſſemblies of proteſtants, were puniſhed as heretics. Nor only was the tribunal thirſty of blood, but it confiſcated the property of every individual on whom it could affix the ſuſpicion of being favourable to hereſy. Under the axe of the

cruel Alva fell the heads of Egmont and Horn *, who were reproachable with no other crime than that of having ſympathiſed in the miſery of the people, without having taken a part in any commotion. But the tyrant feared them; and, as an example to others, they were condemned to periſh on the ſcaffold. The governor ſummoned to his tribunal many more of the principal Flemiſh nobles: but they took care to elude his ſearch by flight. Philip of Naſſau, prince of Orange, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of their number, retired into Germany, and there ſucceſsfully employed his credit in raiſing troops.

In 1568 he poured them into the Netherlands in different directions for the purpoſe of dividing the Spaniſh force. They obtained ſome ſucceſſes, which began to relieve the inhabitants from their fears and to inſpire them with courage: but the duke of Alva collected all his troops into one body, defeated thoſe of the prince of Orange, and gave no quarter to the vanquiſhed. The prince eſcaped almoſt alone in a boat: from the wreck, however, of his diſcomfited army, he formed a new one with which he began to haraſs that of Philip's general. Having in his favour the affections of his compatriots, his knowledge of the

* See a pathetic deſcription of their murder, as well as an intereſting picture of the conſequent revolution, in "*The Batavians, or Virtue and Valour crowned by Perſeverance*," a tranſlation of a proſe-epic from the elegant and energetic pen of citizen Bitaubé.

ground, together with a certainty of being ſeconded in his attacks, and protected in his retreats, Naſſau was ſucceſsful in this ſpecies of warfare, till the want of money obliged him to diſmiſs his ſoldiers. At the ſame time Coligni was waging a ſimilar war in France. "An army," ſaid that general, "is a monſter which is formed by the "belly." He adviſed the prince of Orange to reduce that principle to practice; and a train of fortunate circumſtances facilitated to him the means of profiting by the advice.

The firſt perſons who had tumultuouſly carried to the gouvernante their complaints againſt the inquiſition, being meanly clad, were by the courtiers contemptuouſly called "beggars." Far from feeling themſelves hurt by the appellation, the malcontents took a pride in it, and aſſumed, as badges of honourable diſtinction, little wooden porringers which they wore hanging on the breaſt. The duke of Alva prohibited that ſign of union, and perſecuted thoſe who continued to bear it. His cruelty forced a great number of them to quit the country. The pooreſt of their number and the moſt deſperate retired into the woods, where they accuſtomed themſelves to live by rapine. On the firſt attack made by the prince of Orange, they ruſhed from their lurking-places, joined his banners, and, as they were acquainted with the defiles and fords and paſſages through the fens, they did incredible miſchief to the Spaniards. They con-

ſtructed boats, and, from the different canals where they lay concealed, they ſallied forth againſt the hoſtile ſhips, of which they captured a conſiderable number, not only at anchor, but alſo on the open ſea, whither they boldly advanced to aſſault them. This ſpecies of predatory warfare enriched them with copious ſpoil. By the advice of Coligni, the prince of Orange ſet over them a commander who trained their valour to the regularity of diſcipline. The ſums which thoſe patriotic pirates lent to him enabled him to pay his other troops, and to keep on foot a permanent army. Thus the Beggars muſt be acknowledged the founders of the Batavian republic.

In another point of view, the duke of Alva muſt likewiſe be conſidered as the cauſe of the liberty acquired by the Dutch, ſince he ſeems to have employed every poſſible mean to inſtigate them to ſhake off the deſpotic yoke of Philip. He deſtroyed all his priſoners by fire or water or the ſword. In aggravation of theſe horrors he diſplayed the inſolence of a triumph before the eyes of thoſe who were the victims of his cruelty. He erected his own ſtatue in the citadel which he cauſed to be erected at Antwerp: it repreſented him trampling under foot the popular magiſtrates in the poſture of humiliation. To theſe emblems he added cruel realities by overloading the Flemings with taxes. The ſtates made unavailing remonſtrances. The taxes, however, were ill

paid; whereas, on the contrary, the contributions which the prince of Orange ſolicited through the medium of his ſecret agents, being voluntary, were eaſily levied, and furniſhed abundant ſupplies.

Soon did thoſe ſurreptitious levies aſſume a legal form, becauſe the ſtates, inſtead of aſſembling at the Hague whither the duke of Alva had ſummoned them, met in ſpite of him at Dordrecht. There they made regulations of diſcipline and finance, and nominated the prince of Orange general of the confederacy. They decreed that no important ſtep ſhould be taken without his conſent, but that the prince, on the other hand, ſhould not be empowered to conclude a peace with the king or his lieutenants without the concurrence of the ſtates. They next aſſigned funds for the ſupport of the army; each province engaging to furniſh her quota in proportion to her ability. At this period—that is to ſay, in 1571—was made as it were a demarcation between the ſtates which continued ſubject to the Spaniſh monarchy, and thoſe which ſeparated from it. The latter began at Zealand, and extended as far as Guelderland incluſive, ſtretching along the Ems to Eaſt Frieſland. Thoſe tracts, with ſome additions on the ſide of Liege, ſtill conſtitute the contents of the ſeven united provinces called the States General.

It was not, however, all at once that this ſepa-

rate union acquired its conſiſtency. From Bruſſels where Batavian liberty had firſt received birth, ſhe advanced or retrogreſſed according to circumſtances, until at length ſhe fixed her permanent abode in the provinces which ſhe has ſince inhabited. Her ſteps were marked with blood. How many painful convulſions did the Dutch endure before they attained that healthful conſtitution which they afterward enjoyed! As a ſick perſon, impatient of his ſufferings, changes his phyſician, at one time they governed themſelves, at another they remained ſubject to the Spaniſh dominion: then they ſhook off that yoke, and ſubmitted to foreign princes, until the naturally circumſcribed ſtate of their provinces, the police of their cities each independent of the others, and the neceſſity of affording to each other mutual ſuccour and aſſiſtance, at length conducted them to the federative union, which policy as well as nature pointed out to them.

The court of Spain, fully convinced that the barbarities of the duke of Alva had only exaſperated the minds of the Netherlanders and ulcerated their hearts, recalled him with every appearance of diſgrace, and ſent as his ſucceſſor John-Lewis de Requeſens. The new governor removed from the citadel of Antwerp that ſtatue which ſtood a monument of Alva's pride and inſolence. He ſhowed himſelf popular, and endeavoured to allay the public diſcontent by an amneſty: but, as it was

limited and conditional, it produced no effect. The prince of Orange, who was excluded from the benefit of it, ſucceſsfully continued his military operations. He alſo ſuffered ſome loſſes: and theſe alternations of fortune produced what has been termed the "pacification of Ghent," which was a confederation of all the provinces for the purpoſe of expelling the foreign troops, re-eſtabliſhing the ancient form of government by the aſſembly of the ſtates, ſubjecting religious affairs to the diſcuſſion and laws of each province, and forever uniting by the ties of common intereſt the fifteen provinces of the Netherlands to Holland and Zealand, of which the prince of Orange was proclaimed governor.

To ſupport theſe determinations which could not fail to prove diſpleaſing to the Spaniſh monarch, the Flemings ſolicited the protection and aſſiſtance of Elizabeth queen of England. Don John of Auſtria, who ſucceeded Requeſens in 1576, thought it more prudent to place the pacification of Ghent under the immediate authority of the king of Spain than under the guaranty of a foreign power. He ſigned it under the name of a "perpetual edict," and began to put it into execution by the diſmiſſal of the Spaniſh troops.

This prince has been ſuſpected of a deſign to conciliate, by that condeſcenſion, the good-will of the Flemings, for the purpoſe of rendering himſelf ſovereign of the Netherlands. But he did not

proceed judiciouſly: the favours conferred on the Spaniards who compoſed his court gave umbrage to the Flemings. On the other hand, his lenity in the execution of ſome rigorous edicts inſpired the court of Spain with ſuſpicions: and it is conjectured that he was taken off by poiſon.

A hiſtorian has compared the Netherlands at this epoch to a lady of advantageous fortune, whoſe hand was courted by many rival ſuitors. The prince of Orange, the moſt dextrous of them all, offered her alliance to other princes, while in reality he reſerved it for himſelf. It has been thought that he much contributed by his malignant remarks to make the people notice thoſe faults which deprived don John of the affections of the Netherlanders. Delivered from that competitor, the prince of Orange brought forward the archduke Matthias, the emperor's ſon: but, not finding him either docile or ſufficiently ſenſible of the obligation, he cauſed him to be diſmiſſed.

While the ſovereignty of Flanders was uſed by the prince of Orange as a lure to gain him protectors, the deputies of the ſtates of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Frieſland, Groningen, Over-Yſſel, and Guelderland, aſſembled at Utrecht in 1579 on occaſion of certain infractions of the pacification of Ghent, and united themſelves in confederacy on conditions which rendered their union indiſſoluble. In 1581 they took the laſt and deciſive ſtep: they declared Philip II king of Spain

to have forfeited the ſovereignty of the Netherlands; and, by the advice of the prince of Orange, they conferred it on Francis duke of Alençon, brother to Henry III king of France. That prince was ſolemnly acknowledged as duke of Brabant in 1582. No mortal ever had fairer hopes: the Flemings received him with enthuſiaſm: queen Elizabeth ſent him ſuccours from England, flattered him with the hope of obtaining her hand, and even gave him pledges of her intentions to that effect.

Meantime the war was proſecuted with various ſucceſs. If any man had been able to regain for Philip II the ſovereignty of the ſeven provinces, it would have been Alexander Farneſe duke of Parma, who ſucceeded don John in the government. With the talents of a great general he united the capacity of a ſtateſman, accompanied by mildneſs, affability, and the love of juſtice. Thoſe virtues contributed to retain ſome of the provinces under the Spaniſh dominion; but his ſucceſſes, though brilliant and well ſupported during ſeveral years, hardly made any impreſſion upon the ſeven confederate provinces.

There were moments when Alexander imagined that the miſunderſtanding prevalent among the allies would give him that which he was unable to gain by arms. Diſcord had ſpontaneouſly ſprung up among them, or was inſidiouſly excited by the emiſſaries of Spain, on occaſion of the contribu- Stadtholder, Frederic-William, A.D.1583.

tions that each province was to furniſh to the treaſury of the confederation. The influence of the prince of Orange, and the eſteem which his ſervices had merited, reſtored harmony: but the peace once broken between that prince and the duke of Alençon who was become duke of Brabant, could never be re-eſtabliſhed. The French prince had been inſpired with jealouſy of the Fleming: he not only ceaſed to follow the counſels of the prince of Orange, but engaged in enterpriſes without his participation, and even in oppoſition to his remonſtrances. Alençon's brother Henry III, queen Elizabeth, and all thoſe who felt an intereſt in the diminution of the Spaniſh power and conſequently in the emancipation of the Netherlands, interpoſed to re-eſtabliſh a good underſtanding: but their efforts were ineffectual.

The duke of Alençon, for the purpoſe, as he alleged, of freeing himſelf from the pupillary reſtraint in which he was held by the prince of Orange, attempted to ſeiſe the principal towns by open force. The citizens, at the impulſe of William, took up arms and either expelled or maſſacred the French garriſons. The duke of Brabant, participating the misfortune of his troops, returned to France covered with ſhame, and died in 1585. It was thought that the prince of Orange, inſtead of being ſorry to ſee the injudicious management of the French prince, was himſelf the perſon who provoked him to the adoption of falſe

meaſures, that he might be ſubſtituted in his ſtead, and veſted with the power which the other poſſeſſed as duke of Brabant. Perhaps he might have accompliſhed that aim, not only as to the title, but alſo as to the reality, at leaſt with reſpect to the ſeven provinces: but the piſtol of an aſſaſſin, who was thought to have been ſuborned by the Spaniards, terminated his exiſtence in the year 1584.

Frederic-William was accompanied to the tomb by the eſteem and regret of the different peoples of the confederation. He had been acknowledged ſtadtholder of Holland and Zealand; which dignity, antecedently reſtricted within the limits of civil authority, was in him extended to the command of the terreſtrial and maritime forces. He left three ſons, Philip-William, Maurice, and Frederic-Henry. The eldeſt was a priſoner in Spain. Although Maurice was only eighteen years old, the ſtates conferred on him his father's title: but, as his age, notwithſtanding the fair hopes which he excited, did not yet authoriſe a reliance on his talents, the confederate provinces made a tender of the ſovereignty to queen Elizabeth. She declined the offer, but nominated, at their requeſt, a governor to guide the helm of affairs, until Maurice ſhould be qualified to govern by himſelf. The perſon ſhe choſe for that office was the earl of Leiceſter, who was conſidered as her favourite, and who, in fact, conducted himſelf as a man who was fully confident in his own credit; that is to ſay, he

made ſtretches of authority and committed arbitrary acts which were tolerated only through reſpect for the queen. She recalled him in 1587; and the whole burden of adminiſtration was thenceforward transferred to the ſhoulders of young Maurice.

He gave proofs of a capacity which entitled him to general confidence. Fortunate circumſtances enabled him to make head againſt the Spaniards. The operations of the duke of Parma, whom Maurice would probably not have been capable of reſiſting, were thwarted by the injunction laid on Alexander Farneſe to quit the Netherlands for the purpoſe of going to raiſe the ſiege of Paris, which was cloſely preſſed by Henry IV. Maurice judiciouſly took advantage of his abſence, and rendered himſelf maſter of ſeveral important towns. After his return, Farneſe made nevertheleſs a glorious campaign: but the infirmities brought on him by the fatigues of his expedition to France obliged him to reſign his command. He quitted the Low Countries, carrying with him the reputation of a wiſe adminiſtrator and a conſummate general.

After his departure, Philip ſent, as governor, the archduke Erneſt his couſin, hoping that a German prince would be more acceptable to the Flemings than an Italian or a Spaniard. Erneſt did not ſucceed in rendering himſelf an object of affection, and retired in 1595. The court of Spain appointed count Mansveldt his temporary

ſucceſſor. Philip had conceived, for the pacification of the Netherlands, a plan from which he expected the moſt complete ſucceſs. It was to detach the Low Countries from the crown of Spain, by giving them as a marriage-portion to his daughter the infanta Iſabella, between whom and the archduke Albert his relative he had projected a matrimonial union. He previouſly ſent that prince to govern the provinces which he deſtined for him. Philip flattered himſelf that the birth and manners of Albert, who was a German by origin—the affable diſpoſition of Iſabella—and the preſence of the princely pair—would more effectually contribute to overcome the obſtinacy of his revolted ſubjects, than the rigor of the means he had at firſt employed. In effect, it was that expedient which prevented the ten provinces from uniting with the other ſeven, and preſerved them for the houſe of Auſtria.

The marriage was celebrated in 1595. Albert proſecuted the war which ſtill continued againſt the ſeven provinces, of which Maurice commanded the troops with bravery and ſkill. Bloody battles were fought: towns were taken and pillaged: the open country was ravaged, and experienced all the horrors of cruel devaſtation. The people, even the reformed party whoſe enthuſiaſm was beginning to cool, ſighed for peace: in conſequence of that deſire, propoſitions were made, attention was paid to them, and conferences were kept up

in the midſt of hoſtilities. At length Albert and his wife, ſatisfied with their portion, thought it their wiſeſt plan no longer to fatigue themſelves or ſacrifice the enjoyments of a peaceful life by obſtinately perſevering in the attempt to reduce under their yoke a people who had ſworn to repel it till death. Enough, too much, blood had already been ſpilled: they determined therefore to treat with the Dutch as a free nation—the moſt important condition, and almoſt the only one that was demanded. Albert granted it, and concluded with them in 1609 a truce for ten years, notwithſtanding the advice given to the contrary by ſeveral Flemiſh nobles who could not without pain ſee themſelves on the eve of being deprived, by the peace, of thoſe commands and other advantages which they enjoyed in conſequence of the war. Maurice alſo raiſed ſeveral difficulties, from a ſimilar fear leſt the peace ſhould diminiſh his power: but Barneveldt, the grand penſionary, ſmoothed every obſtacle, and determined the ſtates to ſign the truce.

The ſtadtholder did not forgive Barneveldt the aſcendency which he had taken in that negotiation. Beſides, he ſuſpected him as being ſecretly an enemy to the houſe of Orange; and, in the power that he derived from his dignity of penſionary which rendered him as it were firſt miniſter of the ſtates, he ſaw him to poſſeſs the means of oppoſing the aggrandiſement of the Naſſau fa-

mily. He attempted, it is ſaid, to gain him over, and, being unſucceſsful in his endeavours, reſolved to deſtroy him: in which deſign he was aided by religious diſputes.

At Leyden was a profeſſor named Arminius, who by his bold opinions had made ſome proſelytes. He baniſhed myſteries from the Chriſtian religion, and reduced it very near to the level of pure deiſm. Gomar, another profeſſor, declared againſt him. From the names of theſe two antagoniſts, ſprang the appellations of Arminians and Gomariſts. Arminius numbered among his ſectators many learned men of Holland and Germany; while Gomar had on his ſide almoſt all the lower claſs, who were warmly attached to the doctrine of Calvin: the Gomariſts were of courſe the more numerous party. For that reaſon, and becauſe the grand penſionary profeſſed himſelf an Arminian, the ſtadtholder joined the ſect of the Gomariſts. Thus the oppoſite intereſts elevated theſe ſcholaſtic diſputes to the dignity of ſtate factions.

Pains were taken to inflame the populace: although no doctrine can bear leſs reſemblance to catholiciſm than that of the Arminians, a report was ſpread that they were connected with the Jeſuits, and were labouring in concert with them to bring back the united provinces into ſubjection to the houſe of Auſtria. The zeal which Barneveldt had diſplayed for the concluſion of the treaty,

helped to give a colour of probability to that calumnious accuſation. Maurice affected to appear convinced that the republic was in danger: he ſet to work all his agents, who ſtirred up the people againſt Barneveldt. The grand penſionary was carried a priſoner to the preſence of the ſtates to whom he had been wont to act as organ. Like Socrates, he was accuſed of impiety: like him, he was condemned to death; and with equal fortitude he ſubmitted to his doom.

This political murder is an indelible ſtain in the life of Maurice, who otherwiſe was entitled to praiſe for his eminent qualities. He has been conſidered as the greateſt ſtateſman and the greateſt warrior of the age in which he lived. He poſſeſſed a taſte for the fine arts, had a mind ſtored with learning, was an excellent mathematician, and well ſkilled in the art of fortification. His camp was the ſchool of thoſe officers who ſought to diſtinguiſh themſelves. It has been ſaid of him that ambition ſometimes obſcured but never concealed his merit. Like a cloud before the ſun, that paſſion dimmed but could not eclipſe the ſplendor of his glory.

Prince Henry ſucceeded his brother in all his titles and employments. Under his adminiſtration, the power of the Batavian republic burſt forth into action, and rendered itſelf conſpicuous in the political world. From being a ſuppliant at the feet of France, ſhe became her auxiliary. The

ſtrength that ſhe diſplayed abroad aroſe from her maritime exploits. Theſe, as we have already ſeen, began by piracies on her own coaſts. Rich prizes, taken from the Spaniards and Portugueſe in Aſia, afterward furniſhed the means of equipping great armaments. The Dutch made their appearance as conquerors on thoſe diſtant ſeas, and rendered themſelves maſters of the moſt advantageous ſituations. Although they did not immediately wreſt from their enemies the commerce of thoſe opulent regions, they ſtrengthened themſelves there in a manner ſufficiently predictive of the future preponderancy which they were fated to obtain. They even rendered that preponderancy excluſive, by ſeiſing the iſlands where grow the ſpices, of which they converted the trade into a monopoly. Theſe ſucceſſes were greatly promoted by the wiſe and moderate adminiſtration of prince Henry, whoſe mildneſs was felt even by the Arminians, a ſect which he might juſtly conſider as inimical to him. Henry kept them within due bounds without ſubjecting them to perſecution: they have ever ſince exiſted as a faction oppoſed to the houſe of Orange; and perhaps it has not been uſeleſs to the republic that there have been preſerved in her boſom a party whoſe jealouſy prompts them ever to watch with attentive eye the motions of thoſe who might be diſpoſed to make any attempts on the liberty of their country.

The ſtadtholderſhip of prince Henry was diſtinguiſhed by brilliant events. He cauſed an alliance with the United Provinces to be courted by France and England: he concluded one with Sweden: he obtained the empire of the ſea by the talents of the celebrated admiral Van Tromp, and was triumphantly victorious on land by his own abilities. His health withered away in an alarming manner during the laſt years of his life: and, what does him honour, that decay was attributed to the aſſiduity and activity and ſolicitude with which he watched over the intereſts of the republic. Another not leſs flattering encomium has been beſtowed on him—that of having been an enemy to impoſture of every kind, and averſe to that duplicity with which ſtateſmen are often reproached. He was nevertheleſs conſidered as a profound politician. He loved virtue, cheriſhed ſcience, rewarded merit, maintained harmony between the provinces, and ſet to the ſoldiers an example of valour and patience. Finally, he at once fulfilled the duties of a general, a magiſtrate, a patriot, a friend, and a father of a family. We acknowledge that this portrait is ill ſuited to the latter years of his life; painful maladies having changed his temper and impaired his natural diſpoſition. But, ſay hiſtorians, the reſpect due to the memory of ſo great a man induces us to draw a veil over defects which are not ſo much imputa-

ble to the individual as to the frailty of human nature.

His place was ably filled by his ſon William II. This prince diſplayed great qualities. Henry had procured for him in marriage the daughter of Charles I, king of England: and it is poſſible that this alliance might have inſpired the ſtadtholder with ambitious deſires which were dangerous to the republic. The fact, however, is not aſcertained. But, if he entertained any projects inimical to the liberty of his country, they were diſconcerted by the tragic death of his father-in-law. William himſelf died ſoon after, being carried off by the ſmall-pox at the age of twenty-four. William II, A.D. 1647.

The Engliſh princeſs, amid the poignant grief cauſed by her father's execution, by the misfortunes of her family, and the death of her huſband, was delivered, eight days after that laſt-mentioned accident, of a ſon who received the name of William-Henry. His birth was a ſubject of univerſal joy: for, although the ſuppoſed ambition of his father had excited ſome fears, the people were nevertheleſs delighted to ſee a prince from whom they promiſed themſelves a continuation of that family who had been the founders of the republic. The ſtates teſtified a tender affection for the child: they conferred on him the title of ſtadtholder, and all the dignities compatible with his age, under the tutelage of his mother aided by a council of regency. William III, A.D. 1651.

We cannot attribute to William III any part of the tranſactions which took place during his early years. Cromwell, eager to cut off every reſource from the unfortunate family of the Stuarts, imperiouſly inſiſted that Charles's grandſon ſhould be deprived of the ſtadtholderſhip. The Dutch complied with this requiſition, and bound themſelves never to re-eſtabliſh him: yet their condeſcenſion did not prevent the Protector from quarreling with the Batavian republic reſpecting the honours of the flag and commercial intereſts. Cromwell felt the neceſſity of diverting the attention of the people from his government; and he was perſuaded that this war for honour and intereſt, equally flattering the pride and the avidity of his countrymen, would ſhed on his adminiſtration a luſtre which would prevent the people from thinking of its defects: nor was he miſtaken. Then were ſeen to appear Van Tromp and De Ruyter, who, with inferior force, balanced the maritime power of the Engliſh. The two nations concluded a peace like rivals who eſteem each other: yet it was on terms ſomewhat diſadvantageous to the Dutch.

The depoſition of the ſtadtholder, as commanded by Cromwell, had not diſpleaſed the claſs of warm republicans. They conſidered it as a chaſm in the pretenſions of the houſe of Orange, an interruption which they conceived likely to prove beneficial to the republic; and they thought it

important to continue that kind of ſuſpenſion. William, on the other hand, having attained his twentieth year, and feeling all his father's ambition, burned with the deſire of recovering the ſtadtholderſhip and the other dignities poſſeſſed by his anceſtors. He had ſtudied to gain the affections of the people; and his efforts had been ſucceſsful. But, as his great-uncle William the Firſt had been checked in his ambitious projects by the grand-penſionary Barneveldt, ſo William III likewiſe experienced obſtacles from the two brothers John and Cornelius De Witt. He removed them out of his way nearly in the ſame manner as his uncle had ridded himſelf of Barneveldt.

Louis XIV had recently declared war againſt the United Provinces, and was rapidly advancing in the career of conqueſt. A report was ſpread that his ſucceſſes were the fruits of a private underſtanding between him and the two De Witts who were ſaid to have ſold to him the liberty of their country. It was added that no other mean exiſted of ſaving the republic, than that of conferring the government on William, with all the prerogatives of his anceſtors. Of the two brothers, John was grand-penſionary of the United Provinces, and Cornelius ranked high in the public eſteem. Seeing the thoughtleſs folly of the people, they feared, that, in the tranſports of their zeal for the prince, they would make to him a ſurrender of their liberties, and that their indiſcreet

favour would confer on him a power of which he might make an improper uſe. Thoſe enlightened patriots therefore refuſed to ſign the act which reſtored to him the ſtadtholderſhip, with the command of the ſea and land forces.

William's emiſſaries proclaimed, and induced the multitude to believe, that this refuſal was ſolely prompted by a wiſh to favour Louis's progreſs. The populace were fired with inexpreſſible rage: they overturned the ſtatues erected in honour of the De Witts, who had been their idols. Their houſes were pillaged: themſelves were purſued. John, who had reſigned the office of penſionary, was attacked in the open ſtreets by a band of ruffians, who left him for dead. Cornelius was accuſed by a wretch from the dregs of the people of having offered him a conſiderable ſum to attempt the life of the prince of Orange. The accuſation was abſurd: yet the people inſiſted on its being admitted, and that the accuſed ſhould be tried, and condemned to death. Intimidated by threats, the magiſtrates, thinking to ſave Cornelius's life by another kind of puniſhment, ſentenced him to the torture, which was to be followed by the confiſcation of his property, and perpetual baniſhment. John made his way into the priſon while the executioners were torturing his brother: he ſtood by his ſide during the whole time of the operation, conſoled him, wiped away his tears, and encouraged him under his ſufferings. He was deter-

mined to accompany him into exile: but the populace, incenſed that the lives of the two brothers were ſpared, burſt the priſon-gates, ruſhed upon their victims, maſſacred them, dragged their lifeleſs bodies with ignominy through the ſtreets, and A.D.1672. barbarouſly ſet up their limbs to auction.

The name of William III was rendered famous by his profound policy—by his military capacity, though he was often unſucceſsful in war—and by the Engliſh revolution, which he either provoked or at leaſt dexterouſly turned to his advantage, to place himſelf on the throne of his father-in-law. After his death, the ſtates-general nominated to the ſtadtholderſhip his nephew William-Charles-Henry, who rendered the ſtadtholderian dignity hereditary in his family: but he left to his ſucceſſors a difficult taſk to perform in the acquiſition of the ſovereignty, which appears ever to have been the aim of that family. William-Charles-Henry, A.D.1702.

The ſtates-general are compoſed of ſeven provinces, in the following order—Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Frieſland, Over-Yſſel, and Groningen. They are all independent of each other; but none can contract foreign alliances or declare war or make peace without the concurrence of the reſt. Each town is, with reſpect to its province, what the province is with reſpect to the aggregate body of the republic—that is to ſay, free and uncontroled in its own local government,

but dependent on the provincial council in every thing which concerns the common intereſts.

The ſovereignty reſides in the ſtates-general, conſiſting of deputies from each province, who aſſemble at the Hague. Theſe deputies are choſen from the *nobleſſe* who are termed the "equeſtrian "order," and from the burghers. The ſtates-general are ſtyled "high and mighty lords," and "high mightineſſes;" and the ſtates of each individual province bear the title of "noble and "great mightineſſes." Each province preſides in turn. The queſtion under deliberation is ſtated by the grand-penſionary, who diſcuſſes the arguments for and againſt: whence it is eaſy to perceive what influence his opinion may have. When a deputy does not conceive himſelf to be ſufficiently authoriſed by his province for the deciſion of any affair, he is obliged to go and communicate it to his conſtituents, and to receive from them new powers; which circumſtance is productive of great tardineſs in their operations.

In addition to the ſtates-general, there is a council of ſtate, conſiſting of twelve deputies, who preſide each a week in turn. The objects of their attention are domeſtic affairs, eſpecially ſubſidies, fortifications, the adminiſtration of the finances, and other matters of police. They aſſemble every day at the Hague, and are reſponſible to the ſtates-general.

The ſtadtholder watches over the adminiſtration of the police, attends to the preſervation of the power and privileges and rights of each province, gives his aid to the law, and protects the eſtabliſhed religion, which is the reformed. About one third of the inhabitants of the country are ſuppoſed to be catholics. The ſtadtholder alone poſſeſſes the right of commanding in chief the terreſtrial and maritime forces of the republic. He is allowed to attend the aſſembly of the ſtates, and there bring forward propoſitions. All favours are granted in his name, but with the conſent of the ſtates. He ceaſes to be a minor at the age of eighteen years. In 1747, the ſtadtholderſhip became hereditary for males, females, and even collateral heirs. That advantage, as hiſtorians remark, ſeemed to prepare the way for lofty pretenſions: but thoſe pretenſions, if any ſuch were entertained, have been all daſhed to the ground in the colliſion with the power of France, who has changed the form of the Batavian republic.

The commerce of the Dutch embraces the entire globe. They are called the factors—and, by a leſs honourable name, the carriers—of the univerſe. They have three celebrated commercial companies, which form as it were ſo many diſtinct republics within the ſtate; each having its own peculiar laws, its revenues, its officers, its marine, its land-forces. The leaſt conſiderable of theſe companies is that of Surinam. It carries on a

pretty general trade in every quarter; and the city of Amſterdam is its centre. The Eaſt-India company confines its commerce to America and Africa: that of the Eaſt-Indies includes all Aſia, and would alone conſtitute a formidable power. Its repreſentatives in India appear in all the pomp of eaſtern magnificence. None but Dutchmen are capable, after having enjoyed ſo brilliant a ſtate, of returning to mingle in Europe with their concitizens in the rank of private individuals, without retaining any pretenſions in conſequence of their temporary exaltation. Some people attribute that moderation to republican virtue, others to the habit with which the nation is reproached, of ſolely delighting in wealth.

Denmark.

Denmark, between the Ocean, the Baltic, and Germany.

To Denmark, conſiſting of ſeveral iſlands in the Baltic ſea and a peninſula adjoining to Germany, are added the kingdom of Norway and the great iſle of Iceland. The capital of Denmark ſtands in an iſland bathed by the waters of the Sound, the moſt celebrated ſtrait in Europe, through which from five to ſix thouſand ſhips annually paſs and repaſs between the Ocean and the Baltic. The cuſtoms which they pay furniſh one of the principal ſources of revenue to the king of Denmark.

The ſoil in general, though not rich, ſupplies the inhabitants with a ſufficiency of the neceſſaries of life. The climate is harſh and cold: but its

rigor is yet far inferior to that of Norway which is annexed to the crown of Denmark. The winter is here very long and very ſevere: the mountains are covered with eternal ſnows: the ſhores are ſteep, and bordered with rocks and petty iſles which render the navigation dangerous, but at the ſame time form good harbours. The whales ſport in theſe ſeas, where they are met in great numbers. Judicious obſervers are of opinion that the kraken, which is ſaid to have been ſeen here, and to extend above a league in length, is a fabulous fiſh: and, to reconcile the accounts of it (ſome of which appear to be well ſupported) with probability, they have conjectured that the ſuppoſed kraken might perhaps be a ſhoal of whales or other enormous fiſhes ſwimming cloſe behind each other. As it would be dangerous to approach ſuch a maſs, which muſt cauſe a prodigious agitation in the ſea, they never could be obſerved except from a great diſtance: whence the terror of the obſervers, aided by the love of the marvelous, converted that multitude of ſeparate fiſhes into a ſingle body.

Near the iſle of Moſkoe is a famous current or whirpool which rapidly deſcribes a circle, more ſtrongly marked at the ebb and flow of the tide. At thoſe times the waters ſwell, foam, boil, and make a tremendous roar. Ships are attracted into the vortex from a conſiderable diſtance unleſs they take due precautions, and are engulfed in the whirlpools which preſent the reſemblance of hollow

cones. A ſimilar vorago is obſerved near Iceland, which alſo depends on the crown of Denmark.

This mountainous iſle appears like a heap of ices piled up on the vault of a furnace. The principal vent of its volcanic fires is mount Hekla, from whoſe baſis are ſeen to iſſue ſprings of boiling water. Its top vomits ſtones enveloped in ſheets of flame; and its convulſions frequently ſhake the whole iſland. This country, irregular and wild, preſents to the obſerver's eye many curious objects —precipices in the mountains, tracts of land trembling beneath the tread, and intermittent ſprings. The days, at the time of their greateſt increaſe, extend to twenty-four hours, and, in their decreaſe, give nights of equal length. In meagre paſturages feeds the rein, a ſpecies of deer, an animal of ſpeed and burden, which conſtitutes the chief wealth of the country. By the keenneſs of his ſcent, he diſcovers, at a conſiderable depth beneath the ſnow, a kind of moſs on which he feeds in caſes of neceſſity. Harneſſed to ſledges, which are the uſual vehicle of the country, the rein-deer rapidly whirl the traveler along over the ſnow-clad plains. Thoſe creatures are employed in every kind of labour: the inhabitants drink their milk, and feed on their fleſh.

Denmark abounds with game. The Danes in general uſe bread in ſmaller quantity than freſh or ſalt fiſh, vegetables, and cheeſe. Their induſtry is confined to the ſupply of their neceſſities. No rich

mines are here found: and to this country, eſpecially to its northern parts, may well be applied thoſe lines of a celebrated poet—

> Inſtead of gold, from theſe ungenial fields
> Steel and rough warriors ſtepdame Nature yields.

In effect, the Danes are in general brave, tall, robuſt: but that fullneſs of figure, which is commended in the men, has an unpleaſing effect in the women, whoſe make is clumſy, and who have not the art of correcting that fault by the graces of dreſs. They are as little averſe as the men to brandy and other ſtrong liquors, of which the uſe is too often carried to exceſs; ſobriety having no other rule than each perſon's means of ſupply. It rarely happens that the lower claſs do not load their tables with ſuperabundant food when they have it in their power. The nobles live in luxury, and are affable and generous. The ſciences are not neglected here. The eſtabliſhed religion is Lutheraniſm. The Daniſh clergy are perhaps the moſt exemplary in Europe; and accordingly they enjoy great conſideration. The government has undergone various alterations, which terminated in abſolute monarchy. The warlike character of the Danes is celebrated in hiſtory. There are few countries to which they have not carried their arms; and the potentates of Europe are ſtill fond of employing them in their armies. The Daniſh cavalry in particular is much eſteemed.

We cannot avoid being ſurpriſed that a country ſuch as we have deſcribed, naturally little cultivated, and ſtill leſs poliſhed, ſhould have preſerved ſufficient traditions to carry back its hiſtory above a thouſand years beyond our vulgar æra. Its firſt king, by name Dan, is ſaid to have lived a thouſand and thirty-eight years before Jeſus Chriſt. He obtained poſſeſſion of the throne as all monarchs ought to gain it—that is to ſay, becauſe his great qualities determined the people to requeſt him to take charge of the government. The beſt of his ſons, who ſucceeded him, was dethroned by his brother, who became a tyrant. The people, however, whom oppreſſion had not deprived of all their energy, expelled him, reſumed their right of choice, and conferred the crown upon his ſon Skioldo. At a period when corporeal ſtrength was a powerful recommendation, that prince gained renown by killing an enormous boar, and triumphing over two famous wreſtlers. But he acquired a more honourable celebrity by cultivating the arts, puniſhing vice, and encouraging induſtry, inſomuch that the appellation of Skioldo afterward became in Denmark a common ſurname for good kings.

His ſon Gram was killed in battle by a king of Sweden. The Danes could not without indignation ſee Guthorm, the ſon of the deceaſed, ſubject himſelf to the payment of a tribute for the ſake of preſerving the diadem: and they expreſſed ſuch

contempt for their unfortunate monarch, that he died of conſequent chagrin. Hadding waſhed out his father's diſgrace with the blood of the Swediſh king. He was followed to the fields of war by Harpinga, a Daniſh heroine, who participated his fatigues and his dangers. Having in this reſpect imitated the conduct of thoſe Amazons who have not been rare in the northern kingdoms, Harpinga moreover ſhared the throne of her lover, who gave her his hand.

Under his ſon Frotho is noticed the firſt excurſion of the Danes beyond their own ſeas, 761 years before the birth of Chriſt. He landed in England, and got poſſeſſion of its capital, to which hiſtorians already give the name of London. This expedition, like the generality of thoſe which ſucceeded it, was probably undertaken from predatory motives alone: for Frotho returned to his native kingdom, without any mention being made of a ſettlement in Britain. His ſon Haldan, fearing to have partners of his throne, murdered all his brothers. His ſon Roe, on the contrary, when it was become vacant by the death of Haldan, refuſed to ſit on it unleſs he were allowed to ſhare it with his brother Helgo. Roe was conſpicuous as a legiſlator, and died young. Helgo approved his brother's inſtitutions, but did not imitate his conduct; for he debauched his own daughter: yet he could not ſtifle his remorſe, and killed himſelf in the anguiſh of regret. Rolfo, the fruit of that il-

licit commerce, ſucceeded him. The writers of his life beſtow ſo great eulogiums on his valour and generoſity and juſtice and munificence, they attribute to him ſo many virtues, that they are ſuſpected of having drawn the picture from imagination. As he left no other iſſue than a daughter, the Danes ſought for her a huſband in her own family. They fixed their choice on her kinſman Holher, who had been educated at the court of Norway; and they gave to him the hand of the princeſs, in preference to Balder, a northern prince, who courted her alliance. The rejected rival challenged Holher to ſingle combat: the latter accepted the invitation, was killed, and left his young widow the mother of a ſon who afterward filled the throne. The grandſon of this latter expoſed himſelf alſo in a duel, and was more ſucceſsful. This mode of terminating wars, without entailing miſery on the people, was frequently practiſed by the Daniſh monarchs.

The hiſtory of Denmark, which, until the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, is confined to the meagre drineſs of a bare chronicle, aſſumes, under Fridleff, who lived about that time, a heroic or romantic character, which is equally unſatisfactory. This prince finds a race of giants in Norway, combats them, and compels them to bite the duſt! It is to be obſerved, that, in the old hiſtories, thoſe monſters are always conquered: otherwiſe, indeed, it would not have been worth while to create them.

Frotho V, one of Fridleff's ſucceſſors, killed his brother who reigned in copartnerſhip with him, and ſought to deſtroy his two nephews. A nobleman of his court concealed and educated them in a ſubterraneous cavern. The king, diſcovering them after they were grown up, ordered them to be put to death. The two brothers requeſted, as a favour, to be allowed rather to periſh by each other's hand: Frotho ordered ſwords to be given to them for that purpoſe: they both turned their weapons at the ſame moment againſt their cruel uncle, and killed him.

Sigar bore the character of an indulgent prince. He left the management of the government to his brother Alfo. The latter wiſhed to obtain the hand of Avilda princeſs of Gothland: but her heart was not to be won like that of an ordinary woman. That maſculine princeſs had a decided paſſion for arms, and was never pleaſed but when on board ſhips, and wholly employed in piracy. Alfo undertook the conqueſt of that Amazon by the only mean which could enable him to win her: he attacked her, and fought againſt her during two days. The valour which Alfo exerted in that combat, put him in poſſeſſion of the courageous Avilda. He was not equally ſucceſsful againſt three Iriſh brothers who alſo roamed the ſeas. Two of them indeed he killed: but he fell under the arm of Hagabert the youngeſt.

Hagabert had heard of the beauty of Signa,

daughter to the king of Denmark. The victory which he had gained over Alfo, and eſpecially his death, probably made Hagabert deſpair of obtaining the princeſs by the uſual means. Like Achilles, he diſguiſed his ſex, and introduced himſelf to the princeſs in the character of a maid of honour. Infallible ſymptoms ſoon diſcovered that this new Deïdamia had not been inſenſible to his exceſs of love: whereupon Signa, conſidering Hagabert's conduct as an unpardonable affront, cauſed him to be hanged without the formality of a trial; he alſo ſet fire to the palace which his daughter inhabited, and ſtrangled himſelf in the phrenſy of grief.

The annals of Denmark furniſh many other ſingular *traits* in thoſe remote ages. Halden, ſurnamed the Strong, killed twelve men, ſelected for their ſuperior intrepidity, who guarded Gurith princeſs of Denmark, heireſs to the throne, which, together with her hand, was deſtined for the bold mortal who ſhould ſubdue that formidable band. Olo or Olaus II cauſed death by a ſingle look, after the manner of the baſiliſc. Under Omund we find another martial virago, by name Ruſla, who had dethroned her brother the king of Norway. Omund, called in as an auxiliary by that unfortunate prince, was defeated. To avoid expoſing himſelf anew to the diſgrace of being conquered by a woman, he employed the agency of gold, which detached the Norwegians from her

intereſts: they abandoned her; and ſhe fell into the hands of Omund, who delivered her up to her brother; and he put her to death. That nothing of the marvelous may be wanting to complete the hiſtory of Denmark, we find Broder, ſon of king Jarmerci, accuſed by his ſtep-mother of a criminal paſſion for her: but, differently from the adventure of Theſeus and Hippolytus, the victim here was the huſband who had lent too credulous an ear to the accuſation of that new Phædra. He was killed by his ſon, who ſucceeded in proving his innocence.

The following ſingular event was the cauſe of the firſt emigration of the Danes to Germany. About the year of Chriſt 383, a great famine prevailed in the kingdom: whereupon, two Daniſh nobles, Aggo and Ebbo, unſcrupulouſly propoſed to kill all the old men and children for the ſake of ſaving the reſt of the people. Magga, the king's mother, enters the council, and remonſtrates againſt the barbarity of ſuch an expedient. "It "will much better," ſays ſhe, "beſeem the "Daniſh generoſity to ſend forth all your young "men on foreign expeditions, and thus leave to "old age and innocence and infirmity a better "ſhare of the public proviſions." Her advice being adopted, every ninth individual was choſen of thoſe who were capable of bearing arms: and the aggregate body thus ſelected was ſufficiently numerous to form an army, which, having marched

forth under the conduct of Aggo and Ebbo, eſtabliſhed a colony on the coaſt of the Baltic, oppoſite to Denmark, between the Elbe and the Oder.

This firſt emigration was followed by ſeveral others during the ſpace of a thouſand years. This was the age of giants, of ſorcerers, of magicians, who commanded the winds, raiſed the waves, darkened the heavens in the middle of the day, and cauſed the ſun to ſhine amid the darkneſs of night. From the abyſſes of the ſea they raiſed phantaſms which conducted the Daniſh barks to the hoſtile ſhores, and protected their deſcents. Were the ſkiffs wrecked or ſunk or burned? at the critical moment of need they ſupplied them with others ready waiting for them on the ſhore, to tranſport their plunder and priſoners from Germany. The Daniſh chroniclers have thought it much more glorious to attribute the exploits of their compatriots to thoſe ſupernatural cauſes, than to their prudence and foreſight and valour. But the light of Chriſtianiſm cauſed all thoſe prodigies to diſappear about the time of Charlemagne. That prince, having penetrated into theſe countries in purſuit of the Saxons, found here an antagoniſt worthy of him in Gotrik, who is ſaid to have been qualified to contend with that great monarch for the empire of the world, if he had not fallen in the flower of his age under the hand of an aſſaſſin.

Chriſtianiſm was introduced into Denmark under

Regner, the ſixty-ſixth king, who is thought to have been contemporary with Louis the Débonnaire. Regner reconquered his kingdom from Froe king of Sweden, who had alſo uſurped Norway. In ſeiſing on the latter kingdom, Froe had captured the king's wife and daughters, and had expoſed them to the groſſeſt outrages, ſubjecting likewiſe to the ſame treatment all the virgins who had fallen into his power. One of theſe, by name Lathgartha, having eſcaped from her chains and joined Regner's army, breaks through the ranks, attacks Froe in perſon, and ſtrikes him dead to the ground.

This gallant deed gained for her the hand of Regner. But, whether becauſe a heroine does not always poſſeſs the qualifications of a good wife —or whether it were unbridled paſſion in Regner, who is ſaid to have ſubmitted to fight two furious bulls for the ſake of obtaining a Swediſh princeſs of whom he was become enamoured—he divorced Lathgartha. She avenged her diſgrace in a manner worthy of her. Seeing her faithleſs lover engaged in a dangerous war againſt the Cimbri, ſhe equipped a fleet of a hundred and twenty ſhips, and flew to his aſſiſtance. "If my charms," ſaid ſhe to her aſtoniſhed huſband, "appear faded to "your eyes, I will compenſate that loſs by other "qualities more conducive to your glory and to "the welfare of your kingdom." We are not informed whether that generoſity gained for her a

reſtoration to her former rank, in default of that affection which a diſgraced wife ſeldom recovers.

Regner was capable of extraordinary actions. He had loſt a beloved ſon, who fell the victim of baſe aſſaſſination. That misfortune threw him into an agony of grief reſembling furious phrenſy. Recovering his intellects, he took up arms againſt a monarch, ſtyled king of the Hellespont, the author of the murder. He made him priſoner, and diſdainfully reſtored him to liberty, ſaying, "Enjoy that life which is not a ſufficiently worthy "ſacrifice to offer to the ſhade of my ſon. Let "thy own conſcience be thy tormenter."—Regner, who is repreſented as conqueror of the Hellespont, is moreover ſaid to have ſubjugated England.

Eric, a uſurper, who is nevertheleſs reckoned the ſixtieth king, gave ſtability to Chriſtianiſm in the year 858. He founded churches, and enriched them with liberal donations; but Gormo, the ſixty-fifth monarch, perſecuted the new religion which was now in a flouriſhing ſtate, demoliſhed the churches, and baniſhed the clergy. He was however compelled by the emperor Henry I, ſurnamed the Fowler, to repair thoſe damages and recall the exiles.

To the glory of having conquered England and proved himſelf a very valiant prince, Harold, who reigned in 940, added the qualities of a juſt and pious monarch. He eſtabliſhed biſhoprics, found-

ed and endowed monaſteries, cauſed his ſon Swen or Suenon to be baptiſed and educated in the Chriſtian religion. Doubtleſs the zeal of Harold diſguſted thoſe who were attached to the worſhip of idols. Swen, a young votary of ambition, ſhowed himſelf favourable to thoſe pagans, and, having gained many partiſans among them, revolted againſt his father. A war enſued: after a long and undeciſive combat, the more prudent men of both parties propoſed an accommodation, and the conditions were mutually accepted, when Harold was aſſaſſinated; though it does not appear that his ſon had any participation in the crime.

To gratify his partiſans, Swen again ſet up the idols, without however renouncing the Chriſtian religion. He was made priſoner by the Vandals, from whom he redeemed his liberty at the price of twice the weight, in pure gold, of his body dreſt in complete armour. To raiſe the amount of his ranſom, the Daniſh ladies voluntarily ſold their jewels; which generoſity he requited by granting them certain advantages in their matrimonial conventions. Swen was alſo defeated by the Swedes, and fled into Scotland. The monarch who then reigned in that country re-eſtabliſhed him on his throne. After his reſtoration, attributing his misfortunes to the apoſtaſy of which he had in ſome meaſure been guilty in baniſhing the clergy and reſtricting the exerciſe of Chriſtianiſm, he repaired his error to the utmoſt of his power

Swen, A.D. 981.

by publicly acknowledging it, and exhorting the Danes to return to that religion which his evil example had induced them to abandon.

In his advanced age, Swen not only wiped away the diſgrace of his paſt misfortunes, but even covered himſelf with glory, by the conqueſt of a part of England, and thus paved the way for the victories of his ſon Canute ſurnamed the Great. The power of the latter may be conceived from the diviſion which he made of his ſtates among his three ſons. To Harold he gave England; to his ſecond ſon Hardi-Canute he aſſigned Denmark; and on Swen the youngeſt he beſtowed Norway. From the hands of Hardi-Canute, the Daniſh ſceptre paſſed, by an agreement made after a ſeries of hoſtilities, into the poſſeſſion of Magnus prince of Norway, who was ſurnamed the Good—an epithet more honourable to his memory than a long hiſtory.

Swen II, A.D. 1048.

His ſucceſſor Swen II had five ſons. By an agreement which he cauſed to be ſigned by the Daniſh nobles, and which ſtands unparalleled in his hiſtory, he ſtipulated that they ſhould all ſucceſſively aſcend the throne; and the condition was fulfilled. We may form a tolerably juſt idea of thoſe princes from their ſurnames. Harold was called the ſimple—Canute, the Pious; and he might with equal juſtice have been called the chaſte, the juſt, the friend of learned men—Olaus, the Famiſhed; not that he was ſo himſelf, but,

becauſe, a great famine having prevailed in the kingdom, he died with grief ariſing from his inability to relieve the diſtreſſes of his people.—Eric, like his grandfather Magnus, was ſtyled the Good.

At his court appeared a muſician whoſe ſkill was ſo conſummate that by the powers of his harmony he could fire the minds of his hearers to madneſs. Eric wiſhed to make perſonal trial of his talents; and, in the paroxyſm of phrenſy into which the performer threw him, he killed four of his guards. When his rage was calmed by a change of meaſure, he was ſo affected by the murder which he had committed, that, in atonement of the crime, he vowed to undertake a pilgrimage to the holy land. In ſpite of the remonſtrances of his ſubjects by whom he was beloved, he ſet out on his intended journey, and died in the iſle of Cyprus. Of his two ſons, Harold and Canute, he had left the elder regent of the kingdom during his abſence. It ſeemed natural that his father's death ſhould place him on the throne: but of the five ſons of Swen there yet remained one, named Nicolas, who was a priſoner in Flanders. The Danes, therefore, faithfully obſervant of the promiſe they had made to Swen of elevating his five ſons to the throne in ſucceſſion, paid Nicolas's ranſom, and placed the crown on his head.

His reign was a continued ſeries of diſturbances, excited not by Harold who lived only a ſhort time, but by his other nephew Canute the ſon of Eric,

who could not without pain ſee his father's ſceptre eſcape from him and paſs to his uncle. To mitigate his chagrin, Nicolas conferred on him the government of the duchy of Sleſwick, where Canute aſſumed the honours of ſovereignty. An irruption of the Vandals and Sclavonians into Denmark afforded him an opportunity of making his prudence and valour known to the Danes; for he removed the Vandals from the country by a pacific negotiation, and expelled the Sclavonians by force. Theſe ſervices, together with his amiable qualities, rendered Canute dear to the Danes, and the more ſo as they formed a ſtriking contraſt with the haughtineſs and indolence of Nicolas. This monarch had a ſon named Magnus, who conceived a jealouſy of his couſin Canute. The court was divided between the two rivals. Canute had on his ſide even the queen, Nicolas's wife, who probably was not the mother of Magnus; and the latter reckoned among his partiſans the ſons of his couſin, who were already of mature age. Thus all the great families were divided: but the people were univerſally devoted to Canute, who alſo had two warm and active friends in Harold and Eric, ſuppoſed to have been his natural brothers.

The indolent Nicolas, though diſpleaſed with the aſcendency which his nephew enjoyed, would perhaps have acquieſced in it if pains had not been taken to exaſperate him againſt that prince. Every practicable mean was employed to ruin Canute in

his uncle's mind—conjectures, calumnies, ſiniſter interpretations of his actions—nothing was omitted. Unfortunately Canute gave room for diſadvantageous prepoſſeſſions on occaſion of a viſit paid by Nicolas to Sleſwick, where the nephew appeared on a throne equal to that of the monarch. Although he apologiſed for his imprudence, his conduct in that inſtance left a ſting in the breaſt of his uncle, who was thus prepared for all the projects which might be formed againſt his nephew. Magnus availed himſelf of this ſtate of things: by inſidious profeſſions of friendſhip he allured his couſin Eric to court, where a conſpiracy was previouſly formed againſt him, in which the king himſelf was an accomplice. Eric, though warned of the danger, ventured to expoſe himſelf to it, and fell the victim of the premeditated treachery.

The news of his death cauſed a general mourning. Inconſolable for his loſs, the people loaded the murderer with imprecations. The friends of the deceaſed requeſted permiſſion to beſtow on him a public funeral. Nicolas prudently eluded the requeſt, being apprehenſive of the conſequences which might enſue from the ſpectacle of his body covered with bleeding wounds. Canute had left a young wife, who, eight days after his death, brought forth a ſon, to whom was given the name of Waldemar. He was placed under the guardianſhip of his uncles Harold and Eric, who ex-

hibited their ward in the cradle at an aſſembly held in the duchy of Sleſwick. There they deplored the tragic death of Canute, enumerated his excellent qualities, expoſed to view his mantle ſtained with gore and pierced with poignards, and implored the vengeance of the people, and their protection of the unfortunate iſſue of the prince whom they regretted.

This pathetic ſcene excited an inſurrection, which, from the ſpot where the tranſaction had taken place, extended to the reſt of the kingdom. The people ran to arms: nor could Nicolas find any other mean to appeaſe the tumult than that of baniſhing his ſon Magnus with the moſt notorious of his accomplices. His return renewed the ferment: Eric and Harold aſſembled the people, and cauſed them to declare Nicolas deprived of the royalty, and his ſon Magnus unworthy of ever wearing the crown. In the combats which enſued, Eric was near to making Nicolas a priſoner; and Nicolas on the other hand narrowly miſſed capturing Eric. The latter with his own hand killed Magnus in the throng of battle: after which—ſeeing that Nicolas had now no heir—and being himſelf a deſcendent of Eric III, though of an illegitimate branch—regardleſs of the rights of his pupil Waldemar, or under pretence of better defending them, he aſſumed the title of king. Nicolas, incenſed by this audacity, and chooſing rather to ſee his crown fall on the head of any

other enemy than Eric, preſented his ſceptre to Eric's brother Harold, and declared him his heir. This was his laſt action. He had the imprudence to venture into a town where the name of Canute of Sleſwick was remembered with affection. That prince had there formed an aſſociation, the members of which, among other conditions, bound themſelves by oath to take vengeance on whoever ſhould injure any one of their body. Nicolas was in that predicament, having been at leaſt an accomplice in the murder of Canute: and, although a king, the inhabitants did not think him exempt from the law to which they had ſworn. They flew to arms: the gates were cloſed; and Nicolas, finding no paſſage open for his eſcape, was killed in the midſt of his guards.

With the ſceptre transferred to him by Nicolas, Harold ſtill found himſelf embarraſſed. He knew the diſpoſition of his brother Eric, and was aware of the danger attendant on a competition with him. But to what lengths will not the temptation of a diadem impel? He went in queſt of ſuccours to Norway, whoſe king, named Magnus, was attached to him; and he returned thence with an army. On the firſt intelligence of his return, Eric cauſed five of Harold's ſix ſons to be murdered. The ſixth, by name Olaus, eſcaped. Soon after, Harold himſelf fell a victim to the perfidious ſchemes of his brother, being cut off by the ſteel of an aſſaſſin. Eric encouraged a revolt

againſt Magnus king of Norway: and that unfortunate prince was delivered up by the revolters to the cruel Eric, who made him dearly atone for the ſuccours which he had granted to his brother Harold. Not content with keeping the Norwegian confined in a monaſtery, the Daniſh tyrant cauſed him to be deprived of his ſight, and robbed of the marks of virility. Factions now aroſe againſt the barbarian, who, equally abhorred by the nobles and the people, was poignarded in the tribunal where he was adminiſtering juſtice, without the ſlighteſt commotion taking place in conſequence of his murder.

The ſucceſſion to the throne was not eaſily to be determined. It hung wavering between Swen the natural ſon of Eric the laſt poſſeſſor, Canute the ſon of Magnus who had been declared unworthy of the crown on account of the murder of his couſin Canute duke of Sleſwick, and Waldemar the poſtumous ſon of that beloved prince. His mother Ingeburga preſented her ſon to the aſſembly who were to make a choice from the candidates: ſhe obtained for him the ſuffrages, but would not accept the diadem for her child unleſs on condition that a guardian ſhould be appointed for him, and that the guardian ſhould enjoy the ſovereign authority. The choice fell on Eric V, of the royal family, the ſame perſon probably whom the queen wiſhed for.

She was not deceived in her choice. Eric V, furnamed the Lamb on account of his mildneſs, guarded the throne as a ſacred depoſit, and defended it againſt Olaus, that ſon of Harold, who had eſcaped from the murderous dagger of his uncle Eric IV. Olaus was killed in battle. Excepting that act of firmneſs, Eric the Lamb lived in the greateſt indolence. Eric V, A.D. 1139.

His neglect to take due precautions at his death encouraged Swen the illegitimate offspring of Eric IV, and Canute the ſon of the proſcribed Magnus, to diſpute the throne with young Waldemar. But thoſe two rivals more violently contended with each other for the ſovereignty. Waldemar came to terms of accommodation now with one of them, now with the other, received from them provinces, took others by force, and again reſtored them—being inceſſantly engaged in wars and negotiations. During the exiſtence of this conflict, which laſted nine years, the emperor of Germany interpoſed in their quarrels, and pronounced ſentences of arbitration, to which the contending parties, who had appealed to him, refuſed to ſubmit except ſo far as they were agreeable to their own wiſhes. The Saxons and Vandals, whoſe interference had alſo been invited, gave more deciſive judgements at the point of the ſword. During the chief part of this time, Waldemar, who did not feel himſelf poſſeſſed of ſuperior ſtrength, regulated his conduct by the train of circumſtances, Swen and Canute, A.D. 1148.

and ſuffered the two rivals to combat each other. The more formidable of the two was Swen, who reigned with ſplendor, and even gained by conqueſt the crown of Sweden. Waldemar was reduced to accept of him, as a favour, the grant of ſome provinces. But he inſenſibly acquired ſtrength, and found himſelf enabled to attack his competitor. He conquered him; and Swen was ſlain in the field of battle. Waldemar entered into an agreement with Canute, whoſe daughter he married; and thus he became ſole poſſeſſor of the kingdom of Denmark.

Waldemar, A.D. 1157.

Waldemar commenced his reign by ſeveral acts of clemency. He puniſhed none of his enemies except thoſe whoſe actions would have deſerved puniſhment under any other circumſtances. His education, which had been common with that of other youths of his own age, had gained him friends whoſe merit he was able to diſtinguiſh. By that title, his fellow-ſtudent Abſalom obtained his confidence, which was followed by a promotion to an exalted rank in the church; and the prelate ever continued to act as his firſt and principal miniſter. By that common education, Waldemar acquired alſo the habit of living without pride among men ſubject to his command, and of treating with them on buſineſs; a circumſtance which gave him conſiderable influence in the ſenate: for there exiſted in Denmark a ſenate, compoſed, no doubt, of the chief nobles. Finally, the ſtate of

trouble in which Waldemar had been involved from the time of his birth, the hoſtilities and negotiations in which he had been engaged, had rendered him, even in early youth, at once a brave warrior and a ſkilful politician. He carried thoſe qualifications with him to the throne, and gave proof of his military talents to the Vandals, who, iſſuing from Jutland, infeſted the Daniſh coaſts. His governmental abilities were diſplayed as well in the wiſe laws which he gave to his ſubjects, as in his negotiations with foreigners.

With reſpect to the Vandals, Waldemar defeated them in ſeveral engagements. Their king was killed, and they ſued for peace. A haughty biſhop having the audacity to behave to him with want of reſpect, the king ſeiſed that occaſion to deprive the prelate of his fortreſſes and his treaſures, and to diminiſh the power of the clergy. Full of eſteem for his virtues, and diſſatisfied with their own king, the Norwegians made him a tender of their crown. He accepted the offer, and made for the diſpoſſeſſed monarch a proviſion with which the latter was contented. The Danes, equally pleaſed with his government, voluntarily propoſed to him to aſſociate with him on the throne his ſon Canute, then only four years old. This general affection, however, did not prevent ſome private diſcontents. Waldemar was expoſed to danger from two conſpiracies: but he diſcovered both, and prevented their effects. The indul-

gence he had ſhown to the firſt conſpirators contributed perhaps to embolden the latter: but their crimes did not exhauſt his clemency. However, he only eſcaped the daggers of aſſaſſins to be murdered in a different manner, ſince he died of a drug adminiſtered to him by an empiric.

Canute VI, A.D. 1182. His ſon Canute VI had, almoſt from his birth, been aſſociated with his father on the throne: yet the poſſeſſion of it was diſputed with him by ſome mal-contents: but they failed in their attempt. This prince had been intruſted by his father with ſome military operations, of which he acquitted himſelf with credit. When elevated to the regal dignity, he reſigned the honours and fatigues of war to his brother Waldemar, reſerving to himſelf thoſe of a juſt and moderate government. He convoked a general ſynod of the clergy, who gave a uniform liturgy to the whole kingdom. As he left no iſſue at the time of death, his brother Waldemar ſucceeded him with the general approbation.

Waldemar II, A.D. 1203. The martial exploits of Waldemar had excited ſanguine hopes, which were further increaſed by the wiſe regulations that he made in the aſſembly convened at his coronation. Nor were the public expectations fruſtrated. Waldemar II fortified his frontiers, extended his cares to the hanſeatic towns in his vicinity, enlarged Hamburg, repaired Lubec which had been deſtroyed by a conflagration, built Stralſund, ſubjugated Pomerania, made

ſucceſsful expeditions into lower Saxony and Livonia and even into Ruſſia; by which exploits he acquired the appellation of the Victorious. The finances, which before had been in a neglected ſtate, were reduced to order. According to an eſtimate then made—an eſtimate which will doubtleſs appear exorbitant—they were capable of ſupporting a fleet of fourteen hundred ſhips of war, great and ſmall, and of furniſhing the pay of a hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand four hundred combatants.

In this ſtate of opulence and greatneſs, Waldemar experienced a humiliating reverſe. He was ſurpriſed in a party of pleaſure near the ſea-ſide, by Henry count palatine, who hurried him on board a veſſel, and, on his arrival in Germany, confined him in a caſtle; nor was it till after repeated entreaties, together with the payment of heavy ſums, and the ſacrifice of large tracts of territory which he had previouſly conquered, that Waldemar regained his liberty. At firſt he had refuſed to ſubmit to the propoſed conditions, and preferred captivity to a treaty at once burdenſome and diſgraceful to his kingdom: but his ſubjects urged him to give his conſent. He returned to Denmark, leſs opulent, but more than ever beloved by his people.

This monarch thought it was rendering them an eſſential ſervice to regulate the ſucceſſion among his ſons. He nominated Eric, the eldeſt, heir of

Denmark: to Abel, the second, he bequeathed the duchy of Jutland—and to Christopher, the third, that of Bleking—with prerogatives which rendered those two princes nearly sovereign. Waldemar held also a general diet, in which were defined the rights of the monarch and those of the nation, and likewise all cases criminal, civil, and ecclesiastic. At this epoch originated the constitution which continued in force during more than four centuries.

The precaution that Waldemar had taken respecting his three sons with the intention of insuring peace to his subjects, was the cause of those disturbances which agitated the reign of Eric VI. His brothers aimed at independence: he endeavoured to reduce them to subjection; and hence arose several wars. Of the king's two brothers, Abel behaved with the greater deference: but he appears to have employed it only as a cloke, the better to conceal his ambition, of which he soon gave his unfortunate brother a cruel proof.

Eric VI, A.D. 1240.

Eric was come to pay him a friendly visit; when, after an apparently gracious reception, Abel caused him to be seised and carried off in a boat. When at a distance from the shore, he was stabbed, and his body was thrown into the sea. A report was circulated that his death had been the consequence of an accident, of a quarrel among the sailors: but no credit was given to the tale. Nevertheless, as it was difficult, in the state in which

the kingdom was involved by the ſudden death of the king, to fill his place with any other ſucceſſor than Abel who was too powerful to ſuffer the elevation of a rival, the ſtates conferred on him the crown, after having exacted of him an oath atteſting that he had taken no part in that tragic event.

Abel, A.D. 1250.

Although Abel was capable of impoſing on others, he could not deceive himſelf: his remorſes inceſſantly reminded him of his crime: and they preyed on him with redoubled poignancy, when, in examining his brother's papers, he learned that the prince whom he had cauſed to be aſſaſſinated had formed the reſolution of abdicating the government and retiring to a monaſtery—that he had appointed him his ſucceſſor, and deſtined for him a particular legacy, as a token of his ſincere affection. This diſcovery harrowed his ſoul. He reigned nevertheleſs with glory, and feelingly enjoyed the pleaſure of rendering others happy—happy himſelf in the happineſs which he diffuſed, as far ſoat leaſt as a man can be who is conſtantly tormented by the reproaches and tremendous voice of his own conſcience. He periſhed by a violent death in an engagement with a body of inſurgents. The brand of reprobation which his ſubjects had been unable to affix upon himſelf during his lifetime, was ſtamped upon his ſon Waldemar, whom the ſtates rejected as the dangerous fruit of a venemous ſtock. They placed on the throne his uncle

Chriſtopher, third ſon of Waldemar II. That prince was engaged in ſome wars with his neighbours which he terminated with happy ſucceſs, and in quarrels with the clergy which were productive to him of much uneaſineſs. His death, which happened in the heat of the diſturbances excited by thoſe miſunderſtandings, was ſo ſudden that it was thought not to have proceeded from a natural cauſe.

Eric VII, A.D. 1259. He left a minor ſon, named Eric, under the regency of his mother. The guardian and the ward experienced oppoſition from the nobles and the clergy, who proceeded ſo far as to compel them to flee to a diſtant province. On their return, which probably was not conducted with ſufficient prudence, the mother and ſon were put into confinement. The queen regent was the firſt to effect her own releaſe, after which ſhe obtained the young king's enlargement. So long as ſhe lived, ſhe was his counſellor and miniſter; and, under her advice, public affairs proſpered. After her death, the king loaded the people with taxes, abandoned himſelf to debauchery, diſguſted the clergy and *nobleſſe*, and was aſſaſſinated in the flower of his age.

Eric VIII, A D. 1286. The appellation of the Pious, conferred on his ſon Eric VIII, ſhows that he did not reſemble his father. We find that he had a guardian under the authority of the ſenate. This *pious* monarch was excommunicated by the pope on account of

eccleſiaſtic immunities. He ſuffered every ſpecies of misfortune. In the foremoſt place we may reckon thoſe diſputes with the clergy which alienated from him the minds of the people—next the diſagreeable neceſſity which compelled him to diſoblige a part of the nobles by puniſhing the murderers of his father—after this, his reverſes in the wars againſt his neighbours, and his diſputes with his brother Chriſtopher which were brought before the ſtates—finally, conſpiracies, inſurrections, and, to complete his diſaſters, the total extinction of his progeny, not one remaining alive of fourteen children. He was juſt and religious. It is acknowledged that he was not ſucceſsful in waging war; but he always extricated himſelf by honourable and advantageous treaties.

The practice of election probably ſtill prevailed in Denmark. Chriſtopher II underwent that ordeal, which he rendered favourable to him by conſiderable preſents to the nobles and clergy, and by mean ſupplications to the populace. He was obliged to ſwear to articles which materially reſtricted the regal authority. He ſubſcribed to every condition required: but when he thought himſelf ſure of the throne by having his ſon Eric aſſociated with him on it, he broke through all his engagements. The Daniſh nobles took up arms for the purpoſe of compelling him to the obſervance: a battle enſued: the king was not preſent at the action: but his ſon Eric, who com-

Chriſtopher II, A.D. 1320.

Eric X, A.D. 1321.

manded on the occaſion for his father, was made priſoner.

At the news of this event Chriſtopher packed up his treaſures and fled into Germany. To cut off from the fugitive all hope of the crown in caſe of his return, the nobility conferred it on his kinſman Waldemar duke of Sleſwick. Chriſtopher however did not deſpair: he ſtirred up the ſlow gravity of the Germans; and, by means of ſecret correſpondencies which he maintained in his kingdom, he contrived to gain poſſeſſion of the principal towns, and ravaged the open country. Waldemar was at this time only twelve years old, and was under the tutelage of his uncle Gerhard. The Danes—reflecting that it was more advantageous for them to obey an experienced king and his ſon who had attained the manly age, than a child and his guardian—releaſed Eric from his confinement, and re-eſtabliſhed Chriſtopher on the throne, under conditions, indeed, more rigid that the former, but which he accepted in the ſame manner. Waldemar renounced the ſovereignty. Chriſtopher, equally regardleſs of his promiſes as before, was again attacked by the nobles. On this occaſion he was himſelf made priſoner; nor did he obtain his releaſe from captivity without ſacrificing almoſt every part that remained to him of the royal authority; in conſequence of which he died of chagrin.

No doubt, his ſon Eric had preceded him to the

grave: for, having already worn the crown with his father, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that he would have retained it, if alive, eſpecially as he had not proved himſelf unworthy of it. Chriſtopher left two other ſons, Waldemar and Otho, of whom the former was at the court of Brandenburg, his mother's native country—and the latter had ſcarcely paſſed the age of childhood. Waldemar of Sleſwick preſented himſelf, and proteſted againſt his renunciation. His uncle Gerhard, under ſemblance of aiding him in his pretenſions, was labouring for his own intereſt. The ſchemes of that treacherous guardian protracted a kind of interregnum, which laſted ſeven or eight years.

A Dane, by name Norevi, conceived an idea that the moſt effectual and expeditious mode of reſtoring tranquillity to his country was to take off that author of its diſturbances: he accordingly determined to ſacrifice Gerhard, watched his opportunity, killed him in his tent in the midſt of his army, and had the good fortune to make his own eſcape. As he had foreſeen, every difficulty was now immediately accommodated. Henry, the ſon of Gerhard, renounced thoſe claims which his father had occaſionally brought forward as a pretext for retaining his authority. Waldemar of Sleſwick withdrew his pretenſions in conſideration of a ſum of money, a grant of lands, and the marriage of his ſiſter with Chriſtopher's eldeſt ſon Waldemar. This prince made a ſatisfactory pre-

viſion for his younger brother Otho, and himſelf aſſumed the ſceptre with the general conſent. His coronation put a final period to the anarchy which had deſolated the kingdom.

Waldemar III. A.D. 1340.

Waldemar III received a ſurname (Atterdag) which in the Daniſh language ſignifies "time to "ſpare," becauſe in effect he did not hurry himſelf, and yet was not the leſs ſucceſsful. He gained the affections of the people, to whom he ſecured certain privileges; and he had the art of rendering himſelf ſo agreeable to the clergy, that every church made him a preſent. He entertained the deſign of recovering the crown-lands which had been alienated during the late troubles, and of reducing under his dominion the provinces which had ſhaken off the yoke.

Theſe uſeful plans were interrupted by a fit of devotion, during which Waldemar's entire attention was beſtowed on pious foundations, eccleſiaſtic ceremonies, projects of cruſades againſt the pagan tribes ſurrounding Denmark, and of alliances with the Teutonic knights againſt thoſe idolaters. The whole concluded in a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. The people murmured; but the king, after his return, contrived to regain their confidence. It was not a paſſion for intrigue, but wiſe policy and the deſire of employing the turbulent ſpirit of the Danes, that determined Waldemar to take an active part in the affairs of Germany. His ſucceſs however was not correſpon-

dent to his wiſhes; his ſubjects, though employed abroad, were not the more peaceable at home; and ſeveral revolts are noticed under his reign.

How well ſoever this prince may been titled to praiſe in many points of view, his general conduct nevertheleſs was ill calculated to fix the eſteem of mankind. He is charged with inconſtancy and fickleneſs: a fervid imagination, headſtrong paſſions, violent prepoſſeſſions, frequently warped his judgement. He was a whimſical compound of libertiniſm and bigotry, of ſobriety and intemperance. He carried to exceſs his paſſion for the female ſex—his own wife excepted. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were indebted for their greateſt princeſs to the inconſtancy of Waldemar, and his fondneſs of variety. On ill-grounded ſuſpicions, he had cauſed the queen to be impriſoned in a caſtle: the deſign of paſſing a night with one of her ladies, of whom he was enamoured, conducted him to the place of his wife's confinement: the lady, faithful to her miſtreſs, put her into the arms of her huſband, without his perceiving the trick. Thus Love gave to Hymen the celebrated Margaret, who united on her own head the three diadems of the north.

Waldemar was fond of travel, of interviews, receptions, and every kind of ceremonies. One would imagine that his principal object in war was a change of ſituation; ſo frequently did he vary the ſcene of action. Almoſt his whole life

was engaged in hoſtilities. Some ſucceſſes gained for him the reputation of a great man; but ſome of his actions ought rather to give him that of an oddity. What, for inſtance, are we to think of the following? A formidable league is formed between the neighbouring princes and the Daniſh nobles: the armies aſſemble, and are ready to take the field: inſtead of preparing for defence, Waldemar publicly announces that he has made a vow of going to Rome. Accordingly he departs, leaving to the ſenate the taſk of averting the ſtorm, which they accompliſh by dint of ſacrifices and conceſſions. The king meanwhile was at the emperor's court, awaiting the end of the tempeſt: as ſoon as appriſed of the event, he renounces his intended journey to Rome. He would perhaps have experienced there an indifferent reception; for it appears that the pope was by no means ſatisfied with his conduct. In effect, after his return to his kingdom, the pontif addreſſed to him pretty ſtrong remonſtrances. The ſtyle of the papal admonition diſpleaſed Waldemar, who therefore anſwered—"I hold my life from God, "my crown from my ſubjects, the faith from "your predeceſſors: if you ſet too great value "on it, I return it to you by theſe preſents." The offer of ſuch a reſtitution may enable us to form an idea of Waldemar's religious ſentiments.

He left no male iſſue. His daughter Margaret, that child of Love and who may alſo be called the

darling child of Fortune, had been married to the king of Norway, had borne him a ſon named Olaus, and was now a widow. She had the dexterity to procure that ſon to be elected king of Denmark, in prejudice of her nephew Albert, ſon of her elder ſiſter Ingelburga, and nephew to the king of Sweden. Appointed to the guardianſhip of her ſon, Margaret governed the two kingdoms as if ſhe were poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty over them. She ſoon became ſovereign by the death of young Olaus, whoſe greateſt merit was his docile obedience to a mother ſo well qualified to command.

Olaus VI, A.D. 1375.

Margaret, A.D. 1387.

Decorated as ſhe now was with the two crowns of Denmark and Norway, her ſubjects urged her to engage anew in the bands of matrimony. She received the propoſition with coolneſs: at the ſame time, to avoid diſpleaſing them altogether, ſhe conſented to nominate her ſucceſſor: but ſhe ſelected a perſon ſo young that ſhe had no reaſon to apprehend, during a long time to come, any neceſſity of defending her authority againſt him if he aſpired to a participation of it. She choſe him in the Mecklenburg family which was allied to her, and obliged the young prince to change his name from Henry to Eric which was more agreeable to the ears of the Danes.

Albert, the nephew of Margaret, did not fail to aſſert his claim to the crown of Denmark, in virtue of the rights which he inherited from his

mother, Margaret's elder ſiſter. As he was deeply hurt by not having been choſen to the ſucceſſion, he indulged himſelf in the pleaſure of mingling ſome perſonal inſults with the other matter of his manifeſtoes. His aunt depended much on the ſupport of the clergy, and frequently admitted the viſits of an abbot of Soora on the footing of her ſpiritual director. But that malignity, which is ſo uſual in courts, attributed to the abbot a very different employment about her majeſty's perſon. Albert paſſed ſome jeſts on the ſubject, which ſenſibly piqued the queen: ſhe exerted herſelf to make him repent of his indiſcretion; nor was the taſk difficult to accompliſh.

Albert, elevated to the throne of Sweden, did not regulate his actions by the maxims of prudence. He loaded the people with taxes, without the conſent of the ſenate: he treated the nobles with haughty diſdain, and oppreſſed the clergy. This conduct excited in the public mind a general diſaffection to him; and Margaret increaſed the animoſity by means of her emiſſaries. She had the art to gain over the Dalecarlians, the owners and workers of the mines which are one of the principal ſources of the wealth of Sweden. Thus Albert had, by the alienation of his ſubjects, as it were loſt his kingdom before it was attacked: and a ſingle battle now decided his fate. The king, with his ſons and his principal partiſans, fell into the hands of Margaret, who, having im-

mured them in the fortreſſes of Denmark, advanced victoriouſly into Sweden, and was there received as ſovereign.

The title was conferred on her by all orders of the ſtate: but it was not fully ſecured to her till confirmed in the celebrated aſſembly held at Calmar in the year 1397. The treaty there concluded was called the "Union of Calmar," and contained three principal articles—"1, That the three "kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden and Nor-"way ſhould thenceforward have but one king, "to be alternately choſen by them, and ap-"proved in a general aſſembly:—2, That the "monarch ſhould divide his reſidence equally be-"tween the three kingdoms, and that the reve-"nues of one ſhould not paſs to another:—3, "That each kingdom ſhould retain its own laws "and cuſtoms and ſenate, and that the ſubjects of "one ſhould not be elevated to any poſts or dig-"nities in another."—Theſe conditions appear at firſt ſight to have been dictated by Wiſdom herſelf: but experience, which ſtamps the ſeal of approbation on the reſolutions of men, has pointed out the defects of that convention, which proved to the three kingdoms a ſource of wars that continued to rage during a whole century.

In Denmark and Norway Margaret had changed Eric's title of ſucceſſor to that of king in conjunction with her. In Sweden ſhe did the ſame: and her authority was now ſo well eſtabliſhed

there, that ſhe was not afraid to reſtore her nephew to liberty. Albert, having loſt his ſon during his captivity, was not anxious to preſerve a crown which he could not tranſmit to his poſterity in a direct line: he therefore accepted the offers which Margaret made to him as the price of his conſenting to live in a private ſtation.

That princeſs beſtowed unremitting attention upon the government of her three kingdoms, which ſhe rendered all equally flouriſhing. Commerce, finance, army, marine, laws civil and criminal—every branch of adminiſtration was benefited by her uſeful regulations. She has been denominated the Semiramis of the north. If we may credit ſome hiſtorians, that appellation may equally be conſtrued into a ſatire as into an eulogium; ſince, according to their accounts, if Margaret rivaled the oriental Semiramis in talents and power, ſhe alſo imitated her in her attachment to favourites and her indulgence of ſenſual pleaſures. Great queens muſt expect to have their characters darkened by ſhades of this kind, which enable the eyes of jealouſy to bear the ſplendor of their glory. Waldemar, the father of Margaret, uſed to ſay of her, "Nature committed a miſtake in "making her a woman: her firſt intention was "to make her a man."

Eric X, A.D. 1411.

Eric, who was already joint poſſeſſor of the throne, became its ſole occupant in conſequence of his benefactreſs's death. Never did any prince

aſcend it with greater applauſe. Who, then, could have thought that he ſhould, before his death, deſcend from it with diſgrace? His conduct toward the Danes as well as the Swedes was equally marked with imprudence. As to Norway, he all at once treated it as a petty kingdom whoſe reſentment was little to be dreaded: but he acted more cautiouſly with reſpect to Sweden and Denmark, and did not immediately ſuffer them to perceive the projects which he had formed againſt their liberties: he inſenſibly glided as it were toward deſpotiſm.

It is unneceſſary to remark that Eric had miniſters who were under the influence of ambition and covetouſneſs: for tyranny is never unaccompanied by ſuch agents. He ſuffered them to wax fat on the ſubſtance of the people, and ſupported them in ſpite of the general murmurs and complaints.—This prince ſhone to greater advantage in aſſemblies and diets where nothing but words is requiſite, than at the head of armies where it is neceſſary to act. He made no ſcruple of promiſing and retracting his promiſe, of pledging his word and violating it. Thoſe deluſive hopes with which the people are flattered, ſometimes lull them to ſleep: but terrible is a nation awaking from her ſlumbers.

The Danes and Swedes—both alike diſſatisfied with his indolence in the government, with his infatuated attachment to favourites, and his con-

temptuous diſregard of their remonſtrances—determined to renounce their allegiance to him, and to ſet up another king in his ſtead. While this conſpiracy was pretty openly in agitation, Eric lived in tranquil eaſe in the iſle of Gothland where he had conſtructed for himſelf a delightful abode. He did not even deign to aſſiſt at the diet where his fate was to be decided. After a reign of twenty-eight years, notice was ſent to him that he was no longer king. He no otherwiſe teſtified any reſentment of that affront than by occaſionally ſending out corſairs whom he had taken into his pay, to pillage the Daniſh and Swediſh ſhips paſſing in ſight. As to the reſt, he left the three kingdoms to ſettle their affairs according to their own pleaſure, and to chooſe what king they thought proper.

Chriſtopher III, A.D. 1439.

Their choice fell on his ſiſter's ſon Chriſtopher duke of Bavaria. The nephew ſuffered his uncle's character to be branded by a decree of the Daniſh ſenate, publicly reproaching him with the faults for which he had been degraded. That act was probably neceſſary to the confirmation of Chriſtopher's authority: for in other reſpects he treated Eric with tenderneſs. It is true he took up arms againſt him, and made a deſcent with a body of troops in Gothland: but, while they were ſuppoſed to be engaged in hoſtile action, the uncle and nephew were agreeably paſſing their time in each other's company.

Chriſtopher allowed the dethroned monarch to enjoy, like Tiberius, a voluptuous life in his new Caprea—exempt, however, from the diſorders with which the Roman was reproached. The Bavarian ſecured himſelf on the throne of Denmark by ſacrificing to the ſenate and people ſome portions of his authority. On this account the Daniſh hiſtorians repreſent him as a prodigy of moderation. The Swedes, on the contrary, pourtray him under the features of a haughty deſpot and a tyrant, probably becauſe he did not think proper to obſerve the ſame delicacy toward them. Hence we may conclude, that, like many other princes, he had no virtues except ſuch as were promotive of his intereſt. He died young, leaving no iſſue by Dorothy of Brandenburg, an amiable princeſs whom he had married.

The Danes felt an inclination to confer their crown on Dorothy: but they dreaded her youth, and the choice ſhe might make of a huſband. The widow removed their apprehenſions by promiſing that ſhe would accept of no huſband unleſs from their hands. The ſtates made application to the count of Oldenburg, who had a flouriſhing progeny. He frankly anſwered them, "I "have three ſons, whoſe qualities are very diffe- "rent. One is paſſionately fond of women: an- "other breathes nought but war, without paying "any regard to the juſtice of the cauſe: the "third, more moderate, prefers peace to the

" glory of arms: yet he is unrivaled in valour, " generoſity, and magnanimity." The ſenate declared in favour of this laſt mentioned prince, of whom his father had drawn ſo advantageous a portrait: and under his happy auſpices commenced the greatneſs of the Oldenburg family, who to the preſent day occupy the throne of Denmark.

The Swedes did not think themſelves bound by the choice of the Danes to acknowledge Chriſtian. They aſſerted that his election was an infraction of the union of Calmar, and beſtowed their crown on their own countryman Charles Canutſon. A war, which enſued between the two rivals, filled both kingdoms with diſturbances during the whole courſe of their joint lives. They mutually wreſted the ſceptre from each other's hands, abandoned and reſumed it. Theſe alternations coſt very dear to the people of both countries.

The Swedes had been the aggreſſors in hoſtility: its effects fell on the unfortunate Eric, whom they attempted to expel from his iſle of Gothland, maintaining that it belonged to them. In vain the hapleſs monarch endeavoured to awake the compaſſion of his former ſubjects. " You have," ſaid he, " embittered my life by your frequent revolts: " you have depoſed me: and now you moreover " wiſh to drive me from this wretched ſpot of " land iſolated in the middle of the ſea—the " aſylum where I had expected to terminate my

" days in peace:—do not deprive me of that " hope." The only effect of this remonſtrance was his obtaining permiſſion to retire to a ſmall town in Denmark. As ſoon as Chriſtian was informed of the tranſaction, he ſent embaſſadors to him, and requeſted him in the name of the nation to fix his reſidence in his ancient kingdom. This behaviour affected Eric: ſo trifling a circumſtance can afford conſolation to a man in adverſity! He heſitated: but at length he determined to go ſettle in Pomerania. The Daniſh deputies placed themſelves in his ſuite, and eſcorted him through reſpect as far as the frontiers.

After this inſtance of juſtice and humanity diſplayed by Chriſtian, we need not be ſurpriſed that a conſiderable party was formed in his favour in Sweden. Canutſon was proud, haughty, arbitrary, followed no other rule in government than his own will, unceremoniouſly invaded every privilege, and principally declared himſelf hoſtile to the clergy. That body, very much favoured by Margaret, retained a ſecret attachment to the Daniſh monarchs, and ſo powerfully exerted their influence with the nobles and the people, that they depoſed Canutſon, and invited Chriſtian to their throne in 1458.

But Chriſtian did not enjoy this good fortune longer than ſix years: he had not the art of rendering it permanent. He afforded room for well-founded complaints by going, contrary to the

tenor of the treaty with the Swedes, to expend in Denmark the wealth which he derived from Sweden. Beſides, he had the imprudence to embroil himſelf with the clergy, or at leaſt with the archbiſhop of Upſal who directed at will the whole ſtrength of that formidable body. Chriſtian ſeiſed that prelate, and ſent him priſoner into Denmark. His nephew Katil, biſhop of Linkoping, demanded the enlargement of his uncle. Canutſon, who at this time was hovering on the frontier, took advantage of the miſunderſtanding, preſented himſelf, and was re-inſtated on the throne in 1464.

This was only a temporary turn of fortune. Chriſtian came to a reconciliation with the archbiſhop, and releaſed him on condition that he ſhould re-eſtabliſh him on the throne of Sweden. The pontif kept his promiſe, fought in perſon againſt Canutſon the following year under the walls of Stockholm, blockaded him in the city, and compelled him to ſurrender at diſcretion and renounce the ſovereignty. Canutſon did not long ſurvive this abdication. Chriſtian was again acknowledged king, and with the greater certainty of retaining the title, as, by a judicious policy, he left all the authority in the hands of the ſenate. His complaiſance and attentions enabled him to procure a congreſs of the three kingdoms, which renewed the union of Calmar. The Danes obliged the others to promiſe, that, on the death of Chriſtian they would elect his ſon John, whom they had

themſelves already acknowledged. Theſe inſtances of good fortune, together with the pleaſure of ſeeing a young prince born to his ſon whom he had united in marriage with Chriſtina princeſs of Saxony, decorated the tomb of Chriſtian. He deſcended to it after a reign of thirty-three years, with the reputation of having been equaled by few of his royal contemporaries in juſtice, courage, magnificence, or genuine magnanimity.

Notwithſtanding the compact made with Chriſtian, the Swedes did not immediately recogniſe John's right, but placed the government in the hands of Steen-Sture, with the title of regent. The Daniſh prince, however, did not on that account conſider himſelf as excluded from the throne. After ſome combats between him and the regent, the latter conſented to acknowledge him king, and even attended at his coronation. The ceremony was followed by a great banquet, to which the principal nobles were invited. In the tranſports of joy excited by his good fortune, John, turning toward a German general who had materially contributed to his victories, ſaid to him —"What think you of this ceremony? Does it "want any thing to render it complete?"—"It "wants," anſwered the ſavage German, "the "heads of ſome of theſe nobles, as a leſſon to "teach the others greater fidelity."—We may eaſily conceive the anxiety which immediately betrayed itſelf in the countenances of all the gueſts.

It was difficult to ſuppoſe that the queſtion had not been deſignedly aſked as a prelude to a general maſſacre. But John, after a momentary ſilence which however muſt have appeared long to his gueſts, caſt on the German a look of indignation, and replied—"I had rather ſee all evil counſellors "hanged to a gibbet than tarniſh my character "with the diſgrace of ſo barbarous a deed. God "forbid that I ſhould be an oppreſſor of liberty, "or ſhould attempt to deprive a free people of "the right to chooſe their own governors!"

The Swedes availed themſelves of this good diſpoſition in their monarch, and continued to have a regent. But it was difficult to fix the limits between thoſe two powers. Sometimes they were in accord, ſometimes in oppoſition; whence reſulted alternate intervals of peace and war. In a rencontre between the contending parties, the queen of Denmark was made priſoner; but ſhe was afterward releaſed, to the great ſatisfaction of both nations, between whom that princeſs, equally the object of affection and eſteem, effected a reconciliation. John experienced ſome trouble from the Norwegians, and was obliged to march an army into their country. But his moſt obſtinate war was againſt the inhabitants of Lubeck, who, ſupported by the aſſiſtance of the other hanſeatic towns, reſiſted him with ſpirit, and did not finally yield without obtaining advantageous terms.

On the whole, this prince has been praiſed for

his moderation, his love of his people, his amiable ſocial qualities, his averſion to every kind of oſtentation, his patience, his great wiſdom. He appears to have been very capable of juſtly appreciating human greatneſs. Croſſing an arm of the ſea with the queen and his ſon and the whole court, he was ſurpriſed by a ſtorm, which drove him on the coaſt: an inundation of the country detained him in that inconvenient ſpot longer than he wiſhed; during which delay, walking along the ſhore with his attendants, he ſtopped, and, looking toward the ſea, exclaimed to them—"That, truly, is the "work of the king of kings! He needs neither "army, nor cannon, nor other implements of "war, to keep us blockaded here. That element "is alone ſufficient for his purpoſe. Wherefore, "let us, who have never bowed before any "terreſtrial power, humbly proſtrate ourſelves "before that heavenly Lord whom the earth and "ſea obey."—The academy of Copenhagen acknowledges John for its benefactor. He was fond of employing literary men in the adminiſtration of public affairs. They may indeed be uſeful in that ſphere, if untainted with the ſpirit of ſyſtem, which frequently acts in oppoſition to experience.

His ſon Chriſtian II ſucceeded him by election. Chriſtian II, A.D. 1513. As clemency had won for the father the affections of his ſubjects, glaring injuſtice accompanied by cruelty began to alienate from the ſon the hearts of the Danes. Although he had married Iſabella

princeſs of Auſtria, from which alliance he expected conſiderable advantages, he nevertheleſs kept a miſtreſs named Columbula. She died young, and, it is ſuppoſed, by poiſon. No doubt, ſhe was addicted to galantry: and indeed how ſhould ſhe, who had been unfaithful to virtue, be faithful to the king? Chriſtian ſuſpected that one of his courtiers, by name Torbern, had participated her favours. Amid the feſtivity of a banquet, the king urged him to avow the fact. "I "have," replied Torbern, "loved Columbula, "and ſolicited her favours, but could never obtain "my deſire." That he ſhould dare to raiſe his eyes to his maſter's favourite—ſhould dare to ſolicit her! what audacious preſumption! For that ſingle offence, Chriſtian brought Torbern to trial before the ſenate. The judges acquitted him on the ground that the law had ordained no puniſhment for ſimple concupiſcency. Diſſatisfied with this deciſion, the king re-aſſembled the ſenate, and ſurrounded them with an armed populace whoſe cries ſtruck terror into the ſouls of the ſenators. They now pronounced ſentence in theſe words—"We do not judge Torbern: but his own words "condemn him."—"Since he is condemned," replied the tyrant, "he ſhall die;" and accordingly he gave orders for his execution.

This atrocious deed excited univerſal fear, which became the more lively as it was known that Chriſtian ſuffered himſelf to be abſolutely governed

by Sigebrette, Columbula's mother, an inſolent intriguing woman, void of compaſſion for the poor, of regard for the rich, of reſpect for the laws, and acknowledging no other rule than the paſſions of the monarch, which ſhe ſeconded with equal addreſs and effrontery. She commanded with deſpotic ſway, diſpoſed of all employments, held the ſenate in ſubjection, impoſed taxes, and cauſed them to be exacted with ſuch rigor, that the houſehold furniture and clothing of thoſe who did not make good their payments were ſeiſed and publicly ſold. The people tamely looked on, and, ſtruck with ſtupor, uttered not a word.

But, not content with theſe oppreſſive acts, Sigebrette thought proper to moleſt certain poor ſtudents who lived by public charity, who were in the habit of going from houſe to houſe to ſolicit alms, and who were diſtinguiſhed by a particular dreſs. Sigebrette prohibited that garb, forbade them to aſk charitable aid, and all others to beſtow it. A general outcry was raiſed againſt this arbitrary proceeding, as if the foundations of the kingdom had been ſhaken. On this occaſion it was recollected that the king had in ſome inſtances betrayed a propenſity to Lutheraniſm: the clergy took fire, and ſupported the cauſe of the poor ſtudents. The affair however was accommodated: but ſuſpicions ſtill remained againſt Chriſtian, reſpecting his predilection of the new religion. This opinion of the king's diſpoſition emboldened

the Lutherans, and aided the propagation of their tenets. Chriſtian's toleration, which was very agreeable to the reformers, ſorely mortified the papiſts: and from this diverſity of ſentiment aroſe two parties, which at firſt were extremely adverſe to each other: but Chriſtian's miſconduct in Sweden united them both againſt him, or at leaſt deprived him of the power of employing the aſſiſtance of the one in oppoſition to the other.

Partly by negotiation, partly by military ſucceſſes, he had procured himſelf to be acknowledged and crowned in that kingdom, but with certain reſtrictions which ſecured ſome authority to the ſenate. But his miniſters, with Sigebrette at their head, perſuaded him that he never could enjoy quiet poſſeſſion of the throne undiſturbed by revolts, unleſs he aboliſhed the ſenate. They added that it was further neceſſary to humble the nobles, and to confine his attentions to the peaſantry and artiſans, a deſcription of men the moſt eaſily gained by trifling preſents, and the leaſt intereſted in oppoſing the will of the ſovereign. Purſuant to the propoſed plan of government, Chriſtian invited the ſenators and chief nobles to a great banquet, and, having thus collected them together, cauſed them all to be arreſted.

At firſt he ſeemed diſpoſed to proceed againſt them by the mode of judicial trial; for which purpoſe he created a tribunal compoſed of Daniſh commiſſioners; but the formalities of legal proceſs

appearing to him too ſlow, he ordered the priſoners to execution. At their head marched Eric Vaſa, whoſe ſon Guſtavus afterward mounted the throne; the others following in long proceſſion, to the number of above ninety, who were all ſacrificed in one day. The ſavage tyrant made no diſcrimination between thoſe who had actually declared ſentiments inimical to him, and thoſe whoſe only fault was that they might poſſibly become his enemies. Thus were puniſhed, for their baſe complaiſance, thoſe who by their inactivity had contributed to enſlave their country. Even the wives of his victims, and their children yet in early youth, were not ſpared. Not content with the blood of ſo many noble perſonages, Chriſtian delivered up alſo to the hands of his executioners ſeveral of the moſt conſpicuous and opulent citizens, who had viewed with indifference, or perhaps even with ſecret joy, the deſtruction of a body whoſe privileges excited their jealouſy.

The cry of horror, which had been raiſed in Sweden, was re-echoed in Denmark with the greater force as the king exerciſed there too his cruelty. As the tiger, that has once taſted blood, ever thirſts for more, Chriſtian ſhed copious ſtreams of it in Denmark. Even the clergy were not exempt from the effects of his rage. At length impatience of ſuch tyranny, and wearineſs of ſubmiſſion, drove the people from murmurs to reſiſtance, from reſiſtance to aggreſſion. So general

was the inſurrection, that, wherever Chriſtian turned his eyes, he ſaw none but enemies around him, with ſwords uplifted againſt his life.

In another quarter, the Swedes, having recovered from their firſt ſtupor, ardently ran to arms. Vain are the precautions of a tyrant! in ſpite of all his efforts, perſons will yet remain to avenge the victims of his cruelty. Guſtavus Vaſa, the ſon of Eric, a youth of intrepid ſpirit and unbroken by misfortune, after having lain ſome time as it were buried in the mines of Dalecarlia, converted the companions of his labours into ſoldiers, changed the implements of their toil into ſwords, and at their head iſſued from thoſe gloomy caverns. The firſt beam of day-light which ſtruck their eyes, ſhone upon their ſucceſſes. The baſe Chriſtian, terrified by the report, ſent information to Guſtavus, that, unleſs he laid down his arms, death ſhould be inflicted on his mother and ſiſter, whom the tyrant held in captivity. At this menace, the young hero heſitated: but, either impelled by the tide of circumſtances or not imagining that the king would proceed to ſuch exceſs of barbarity, he continued to fight and to conquer. The cruel Chriſtian cauſed both the princeſſes to be drowned.

The final term of his barbarity was now come. A general inſurrection took place throughout his kingdoms. He was attacked, he was purſued. The Danes, though leſs mal-treated than his other

ſubjects, depoſed him, and perſonally announced to him his depoſition. He begged ſome reſpite; and, after unavailing promiſes and abject ſupplications, accompanied with ſuch tears as adverſity extorts from humbled arrogance, he relinquiſhed the ſovereignty. Conceiving himſelf to be deſtitute of all reſource, and even of a ſafe aſylum, he equipped a fleet, and placed on board of it his treaſures, the regal jewels, the records and public acts of government, his children, his wife, together with the execrable Sigebrette, and ſailed out to ſea.

He expected, that, on his arrival at the court of the emperor his brother-in-law, he ſhould ſee entire Germany take up arms in his cauſe: but he was diſappointed in that hope, and experienced nought but coldneſs and indifference. Wherever he appeared, he was viewed with the abhorrence juſtly due to his infamous conduct, for which he was branded with the appellation of the Nero of the North. Nevertheleſs, as he was not deficient in courage, he haſarded ſome attempts to recover his crown, and again made his appearance in Denmark. But the only reward of his efforts was a dungeon, where he languiſhed twenty-ſeven years. During the latter years of his confinement, he was indulged with ſome relaxation of the ſeverity to which he had been ſubjected: but his ſituation ſtill continued to be that of a priſoner; and experience

ſufficiently proves that captivity of any kind is always a puniſhment.

Frederic, A.D. 1523. Chriſtian's abdication laid open the way to the throne for his uncle Frederic of Holſtein, who, having been perſecuted by his nephew, had not conceived himſelf bound to aſſiſt him in his difficulties. He had remained inactive during the diſturbances, and now reaped the fruits of his neutrality. Frederic was, without oppoſition, proclaimed king of Denwark. The acquiſition of the Daniſh crown reminded him of the Swediſh diadem: but the latter was worn by a man capable of defending it. Beſides, Frederic, who was ſurnamed the Pacific, ſhowed little eagerneſs to take the trouble of regaining by conqueſt a kingdom which he conſidered as completely loſt. He politely received the friendly advances of Guſtavus, which he anſwered by honourably reſtoring to him the captive Swedes whom Chriſtian had diſtributed in the fortreſſes of Denmark. The two monarchs formed an alliance with each other.

The tranquillity which was the reſult of that union furniſhed Frederic with the opportunity of haſarding a bold enterpriſe—that of changing the religion of his kingdom. He explicitly declared himſelf a Lutheran, and obtained in a general diet a deciſion that each individual ſhould be at liberty to profeſs the proteſtant or the Romiſh religion at his own option. The members of every religious

order were allowed to marry; in conſequence of which permiſſion, the monaſteries were thrown open. From the indifference of religion at firſt authoriſed, ſeveral towns proceeded ſo far as to prohibit the maſs, break the ſtatues, tear the pictures, and efface from the churches, which were now appropriated to the reformed worſhip, every thing which could recall any idea of the Romiſh religion. The bible was tranſlated into the vernacular language: chairs of theology were founded, and filled with proteſtant profeſſors. The biſhops complained of theſe innovations: but the king quieted their alarms by daily promiſing them a general diet which ſhould more minutely regulate the affairs of religion. He died after a peaceable reign of ten years, leaving the clergy in that ſtate of uncertainty, in conſequence of which the proteſtant religion gained ground and gathered ſtrength.

The chief work of the reign of Chriſtian III was the conſolidation of proteſtantiſm. This prince found difficulty in procuring his election to the crown. A powerful party ſupported his brother John, becauſe he was a Roman catholic: another, leſs conſiderable, exerted themſelves in favour of Chriſtian II, though a priſoner. The latter, however, claimed ſome attention, becauſe it was ſaid that they would be backed by the whole force of the houſe of Auſtria. But the ſon of Frederic ſucceeded in removing the oppoſition of his two competitors— Chriſtian III, A.D. 1533.

of John, by conferring on him the duchy of Holſtein as an apanage in common with his brother Adolphus—of Chriſtian II, by relaxing his chains, though without abſolutely breaking them. After ſome pretenſions advanced by the king of Sweden, the two monarchs concluded all their differences by an accommodation.

Thus releaſed from thoſe various embarraſſments, Chriſtian, ſupported by the ſenate and nobles who had powerfully contributed to place the diadem on his head, formed the deſign of deſtroying the temporal power of the biſhops and clergy who had laboured to prevent his election. A diet which he aſſembled, under pretence of regulating the church diſcipline, furniſhed him with reaſons, good or bad, for the abolition of the epiſcopacy. He ordered all the biſhops to be arreſted, leaving them no other alternative than ſubmiſſion to the king's will expreſſed in what were called the regulatory laws, or depoſition from their office. Several refuſed to comply, and died in chains. A confeſſion of faith was alſo drawn up, and preſented to the reſt of the clergy, with the ſame alternative. A great number of theſe choſe rather to quit the kingdom; and the people, being thus deprived of their paſtors, embraced that doctrine which the king thought proper to propoſe to them. They were alſo gained over by being allowed ſome ſhare in the ſpoils of the clergy: but the moſt conſiderable parts of the property of the

eccleſiaſtic body—their lands and towns and villages and fortreſſes—were annexed to the crown.

Chriſtian treated the clergy with ſo much rigor, that even Luther himſelf reproached him for his conduct. He wrote to the king, and ſuggeſted to him this politic obſervation, that, by utterly annihilating the temporal power of the church, he deprived the crown of the firmeſt ſupport of its prerogatives;—that, the equilibrium of government being deſtroyed together with the power of the biſhops, the nobles would in conſequence acquire a preponderancy which muſt prove injurious to the regal authority and to the welfare of the people. Accordingly, the citizens and peaſantry were in the ſequel reduced to a ſtate of more abject ſlavery under their haughty lords, than they had ever known while the eccleſiaſtic power ſerved as a counterpoiſe. If at any time the latter attempted to raiſe itſelf to an exceſſive height, there was an eaſy opportunity of depreſſing it by the aid of the nobles: but, when theſe were become the maſters, no expedient remained, except a revolution in the government, which could releaſe the commonalty from their tyrannic yoke. It was only in proceſs of time that the effect of Chriſtian's improvidence became fully perceptible. He enjoyed domeſtic peace in his kingdom, and tranſmitted the tranquil poſſeſſion of it to his ſon. He lived happy in his family, and was honoured with the glorious appellation of the father of his ſubjects.

Frederic II, A.D. 1558.

To his ſon Frederic II is attributed a character reſembling that of his father. They were both placed in ſimilar circumſtances, except that the ſon had only to perfect what his father had already begun. He did not himſelf poſſeſs brilliant military talents: but he was ſucceſsful in procuring good generals and excellent admirals. He experienced the viciſſitudes of good and bad fortune in a war againſt Sweden, which laſted during almoſt his entire reign. It has however been ſaid that under him the Danes were happy—probably becauſe the horrors of war did not approach nearer than their frontiers, or becauſe they were chiefly confined to the ſea, which was indeed the theatre of moſt of their hoſtile conflicts. The hanſeatic towns, which were claimed by both nations, took a very active part in their hoſtilities. That of Lubeck ſtill retained a conſiderable portion of her ancient power. When in the zenith of her glory, that city is ſaid to have harboured the aſpiring hope of conquering Denmark: and—what will appear yet more aſtoniſhing—ſhe actually ſold that kingdom to an Engliſh monarch, and received from him a payment on account of the ſale. Frederic held the balance between thoſe commercial towns. The aſcendency which he acquired gave him an influence in the affairs of Europe; and his reſpect for the rights and property of his ſubjects inſured to him their eſteem and affection.

His ſon Chriſtian IV was not more than eleven years old at the time of his father's deceaſe. Four regents were nominated, who not only laboured to render their adminiſtration uſeful to the kingdom, but alſo nobly vied with each other in the care beſtowed on their pupil's education. No trouble or expenſe was ſpared: they procured from all quarters ſuch preceptors as were beſt qualified to form his mind and his body; and their ſucceſs even exceeded their expectations. At an age when a prince is hardly capable of following a chain of reaſoning, he was able to dictate or write inſtructions to his miniſters, and to anſwer foreign embaſſadors in their native language. He poſſeſſed great dexterity in bodily exerciſes, and was fond of publicly exhibiting proofs of it. Chriſtian IV, A.D. 1588.

The king of Sweden challenged him to ſingle combat. Happily the thrones of both kingdoms were occupied by princes who felt for each other a mutual eſteem. They had a perſonal interview, came to an explanation, and laid down their arms. Chriſtian's reign would have been one of the moſt pacific, if he had not interfered in the affairs of Germany. The lively intereſt which he took in them involved him, a ſhort time previous to his death, in a war with Sweden. Although terminated by a peace not abſolutely diſadvantageous, thoſe hoſtilities proved ſeverely detrimental to Denmark, by enfeebling her maritime ſtrength and ruining her finances.

To re-eſtabliſh them, Chriſtian conceived a project, which, on account of its extraordinary magnitude, has been treated as chimerical. It conſiſted in tranſporting to Denmark the commerce of the Eaſt, and particularly that of Perſia, through the rivers which flow into the Baltic. For that purpoſe, a canal was to be cut through a neck of land belonging to Holſtein, to avoid the circuitous navigation of the Sound, and protect the commerce from being diſturbed by ſtrangers. Chriſtian began the work; but projects of that nature require a length of time before they can be crowned with ultimate ſucceſs—happy, when they do not prove entirely abortive! We have ſeen the ſtream of commerce diverted from its uſual courſe by means leſs powerful. Beſides, great expectations might be formed from Chriſtian's activity, and his ſtubborn perſeverance in the proſecution of plans once adopted. He retained to an advanced age all the ardor and vehemence of youth: unfortunately, he continued likewiſe ſubject to the paſſions which uſually accompany that age. His fondneſs of women, for inſtance, has in ſome meaſure tarniſhed his reputation. But we cannot refuſe him the praiſe of having been a monarch remarkable for firmneſs, an intrepid warrior, a prince of extenſive genius, and of great generoſity and magnanimity.

Frederic III, A.D. 1648.

Frederic III proved himſelf the undegenerate ſon of Chriſtian, diſplaying equal abilities in war and in civil adminiſtration. Two ſtriking incidents of

his reign bear ſtrong teſtimony to his talents in both. He was engaged in martial conteſt with a monarch whoſe exploits were alone ſufficient to give celebrity to a rival. That monarch was Charles X, king of Sweden, who taught his ſoldiers to brave the elements, to convert the frozen ſurface of the deep into a field of battle, and to render the ſeaſons and their phænomena ſubſervient to the execution of his deſigns. That warrior awaited a fleet of tranſport-ſhips to croſs the ſtrait which ſeparated him from Denmark. Meantime an intenſe froſt ſet in; of which availing himſelf, he proceeded at the head of his troops acroſs the ſea now become ſolid, and attacked the Daniſh veſſels which lay bound in the ice. It broke under his men, and three regiments were ſwallowed up in the chaſm. Of what importance ſuch a loſs in the eſtimation of a conqueror? The reſt paſſed over in ſafety.

With ſuch talents and with ſuch troops, Charles advanced to lay ſiege to Copenhagen. Ready to receive the Swede there on his arrival, ſtood Frederic, who was endowed with genius and valour ſuited to the emergency. No precipitation marked his conduct, no dilatory heſitation. Conſtantly prepared to act, he perſonally watched over every meaſure which was to be adopted for the purpoſe of maturing his ſucceſſes, and reaping from them their full advantage. He poſſeſſed the art of encouraging thoſe perſons to face danger whom their

profeſſion removed from all acquaintance with it, of inducing them chearfully to endure fatigue and toil, and of inflaming their minds with patriotic zeal. By that happy talent he converted the citizens of Copenhagen into intrepid ſoldiers, who firmly fought in ſmall boats againſt the ſhips of the beſiegers, and ruſhed forward through a tempeſt of flame. Their wives and children ſeconded their ardor, after the example of the queen who animated them by her preſence. She was ſeen affectionately following her huſband to the breach, and equally ſupplying the wants of the combatants and of the wounded. There are few ſpecies of heroiſm, of which that memorable ſiege did not furniſh inſtances. After the retreat of the Swedes, the king rewarded the valour and fidelity of the citizens by the grant of well-merited privileges.

The ſtate of the kingdom, at the concluſion of the peace which followed that ſiege, opened the eyes of the public to the defects of the government, and excited a wiſh to find the means of remedying them. Luther's prophecy was by this time accompliſhed: the nobility had gradually acquired a power which proved very onerous to the people. They had every-where taken on leaſe the poſſeſſions of the clergy which had been annexed to the royal domains: from leaſe-holders, they had inſenſibly rendered themſelves proprietors; and, under pretence of their ancient prerogatives, they

refuſed to pay the taxes to which thoſe poſſeſſions had formerly been ſubject: whence the whole burden of taxation fell upon the plebeian claſs. It is not that there were no biſhops or clerical body ſtill exiſting in the kingdom: but, as the prelacies had been ſtripped of their principal riches, the nobility no longer ſought them, and they were poſſeſſed by commoners, whoſe influence the nobles diſdained. One of the prelates, however, John Suan biſhop of Copenhagen, formed the deſign of overthrowing that proud coloſſus that ſtrutted in the pomp of heraldry. He took as his co-adjutor John Nanſen, a merchant, chief of the claſs of citizens, a man equally capable of forming a great enterpriſe or carrying it into execution.

Theſe two men conſulted together, in company with ſeveral of their order whom they aſſociated in their plan, how they might ſucceed in compelling the nobles to bear their juſt proportion of the public expenſe. They obſerved that if any tax were laid on them, they would not fail to procure an exemption from it by a deciſion of the ſenate which was entirely compoſed of nobles. The aſſociates therefore concluded that they muſt begin by weakening the ſenate itſelf: but how to accompliſh that object, was the queſtion. They conceived that it could no otherwiſe be effected than by extending the royal prerogative, and placing it on ſo firm a foundation as ſhould thenceforward ſecure it from all danger of ever being ſhaken.

The circumſtances of the moment were favourable for the execution of the ſcheme: the diet was aſſembled at Copenhagen, of which the inhabitants were all warmly devoted to the king and queen, whoſe great qualities they had admired, and whoſe kindneſs they had experienced, during the ſiege. There exiſted, between the citizens and the nobles, a germ of diſcord very clearly developed; the latter being jealous of the privileges granted to the former, while the citizens, now accuſtomed to arms, were proud of their ſucceſs, and offended to ſee others envy them thoſe favours which they had ſo well deſerved.

At the firſt ſitting of the ſtates, the confederates laid on the table a memorial expreſſive of their ſentiments reſpecting the means of providing for the neceſſities of the kingdom by a general tax. The nobility, as had been foreſeen, at firſt claimed a right to be exempt from it: they afterward conſented to ſubmit to the payment, but for two years only, and with certain reſtrictions.

Conceiving that they had made ſufficient ſacrifices, and that it would be impoſſible to require of them any further conceſſions, they alſo on their part employed their attention in drawing up a ſtatement of grievances, in which they inſerted ſome inſulting reflexions on the citizens. But, while the nobles were waſting their time in acrimonious writing, the two other orders were buſily employed in acting. They declared that the con-

tributions, ſuch as they had been propoſed, even though the nobles ſhould give their unreſtricted conſent to them, were inſufficient; and that no better expedient could be found than to farm out to the higheſt bidder the fiefs and domains of the crown, which the nobles had hitherto excluſively enjoyed under very moderate rents. The nobles, thus touched in a ſenſible part, loudly exclaimed againſt the propoſal. Perſonalities were uttered even in the hall of the diet; and, without doors, the deputies of the different orders viewed each other with evil eye. A nobleman, meeting one of the principal citizens who was returning from the king's palace, abruptly aſked him, "What have "you been doing there?" and, without waiting for his anſwer, pointed to the tower which ſerved as the ſtate-priſon, adding, "Do you know that "place, and the uſe for which it is deſtined?" The citizen, without opening his lips, pointed to the ſteeple of the principal church, where hung the alarm-bell, whoſe ſound could in an inſtant call the citizens together againſt the nobles.

While the public were in a general ferment, Frederic in the receſſes of his palace quietly awaited the turn of events, or rather directed them. There exiſts not a doubt that he was appriſed of the project entertained by the two orders. Still leſs reaſon is there to doubt that he willingly conſented to it, ſince it was their intention to veſt him with abſolute power, and to declare the crown hereditary in

his family. But he trod on ſlippery ground: he did not advance a ſtep without the greateſt precaution, nor ſuffered the queſtion to be propoſed even in the hall of the commons until the chiefs of that body had convinced him of their ability to obtain a deciſion agreeable to his wiſhes. In fact, the propoſition was unanimouſly adopted.

Without ſuffering their firſt ardor to cool, the two orders immediately ſet out for the place where the nobles held their ſittings. On their way, they were accompanied by a countleſs throng of people who teſtified their joy by loud acclamations. Arrived at the hall, Nanſen drew, in a ſuccinct but energetic diſcourſe, a picture of the evils of the ſtate, to which adding an enumeration of the important ſervices that the king had rendered to the nation, he repreſented that none except he who had reſcued her from impending danger would be able to ſave her, and concluded by obſerving that both gratitude and neceſſity called upon her to render the crown hereditary in Frederic's family. He aſſured his auditors that ſuch was the wiſh of the two other orders, preſented to the ſenate the ſolemn act to that effect ſigned by all the members, and urged the ſenators to concur in it by their approbation.

The equeſtrian order, who were not prepared for ſo ſudden and deciſive a reſolution, anſwered with heſitation that they were not averſe from participating in the honour of conferring ſo glorious

a preſent on the king and his poſterity; but that they wiſhed to ſee that great work conducted with cool prudence and mature deliberation, for the purpoſe of avoiding every thing which might give it the appearance of a revolution effected by force. While the nobles detained the deputies of the two orders liſtening to their harangues, they ſent perſons to ſound the king's diſpoſitions, and to learn whether he would be ſatisfied with the heredity in the male line, declaring themſelves ready, on that condition, to accede to the wiſhes of the two other orders. The monarch anſwered that he was obliged to them for their good intentions—that he hoped the nation would never have reaſon to repent of the meaſure projected in favour of his family—but that he could not conceal from them that what the ſenate propoſed to do would not be agreeable to him unleſs the right of ſucceſſion were alſo extended to the females. In the interval of this private meſſage, the two orders urged the ſenate to comply: at length Nanſen declared that they had formed their reſolution, and that, if the nobles refuſed to co-operate with them, they would immediately repair to the king who awaited their coming: after which declaration, they departed.

Frederic received them with affability, thanked them for their good will, told them that he would not decline their offer, but that it muſt be ſanctioned by unanimous approbation, and that the conſent of the nobles was an indiſpenſable condition;—

that he would never forget the zeal and affection which they had evinced for him, and concluded his addreſs by deſiring that they might continue their ſeſſions until the affair ſhould be conducted to a happy termination by the union of the three orders.

He well knew that he had in his own hand the means of accelerating that union. The citizens of Copenhagen, who had been martialiſed during the ſiege, were all devoted to his intereſt; and, even among the ſenators and other nobles, there were ſome on whoſe aſſiſtance he could depend. While the greater number of the nobles were yet heſitating and deliberating—at the moment when they were aſſembled to attend the funeral of one of their own body, they were ſuddenly informed that the city-gates were ſhut, and that it was forbidden to let any perſon go out. This intelligence ſtruck the aſſembly with aſtoniſhment and terror: they ſent a deputation to the king, to inquire into the reaſons of that extraordinary ſtep. The monarch anſwered that his ſole motive for iſſuing that order was the private evaſion of ſome members of their body, and his fear leſt others ſhould imitate their example for the purpoſe of breaking up the aſſembly of the ſtates; but that they might in perfect ſafety continue their deliberations.

They did not long deliberate. After a brief conſultation, the nobles ſent to inform the king and the other orders that they were ready to do what had been propoſed to them, and to ſubſcribe

in every thing to his majeſty's will. Immediate ſteps were taken to give to the revolution all the characteriſtics which could ſtamp it with ſolemnity and durability. As the king was to be thenceforward abſolute, all the acts were annulled which laid reſtrictions on his authority—acts to which he had formerly ſworn. A new oath of allegiance to him was taken: after which, "of his own certain knowledge and plenary power," without the concurrence of any other authority, he regulated all the parts of the government, eſpecially the mode of ſucceſſion, and iſſued what has been called the "royal law."

Since the year 1660, the epoch of that event, the royal law has been conſidered as the national code, in every thing reſpecting the ſucceſſion and the power of the monarch. Frederic added to it a number of ordinances ſo fraught with wiſdom and moderation that no individual has ever had reaſon to complain of them. Previous to the revolution, he had enjoyed the eſteem of the nobles; and he now regained their affection in an equal degree as he already poſſeſſed that of the two other orders. This unanimity of ſuffrage under ſuch circumſtances is perhaps the moſt honourable eulogy that any monarch ever obtained. We will conclude the account by obſerving that to his political talents this monarch alſo added the moral virtues. As ſoon as he had gained poſſeſſion of abſolute power, he moderated that paſſion for glory which he had formerly betrayed in under-

taking ſome petty wars. The objects of his ſtudy thenceforward were—to reſtore by his own example the ancient ſimplicity of dreſs and frugality at table—to eſtabliſh order in the financial ſyſtem—to encourage merit, induſtry, and commerce—to reward thoſe who had faithfully ſerved him—to correct abuſes—to protect the oppreſſed—to relieve the indigent—and, finally, to prove himſelf a father to his ſubjects, and a friend to mankind.

Chriſtian V, A.D. 1670. The poſterity of Frederic have trodden in his ſteps. His ſon Chriſtian V was deemed one of the greateſt monarchs in Europe. He was brave, prudent, affable, nor taxed with any other faults than an exceſſive diffidence in his own underſtanding, and the conceſſion of too great power to his miniſters: but he rigorouſly puniſhed them whenever they dared to abuſe their authority. He underſtood moſt of the modern languages, was fond of the ſciences, and had made conſiderable progreſs in the military branch of mathematics. Diſcoveries in that department ever found favourable acceſs to him.

Frederic IV, A.D. 1699. His ſon Frederic IV was more ſucceſsful on ſea and on land than any of his predeceſſors. His proſperous fortune rendered him enterpriſing, and ready to liſten to the extravagant projects of his courtiers, to whom he diſtributed the public money with too laviſh a hand.

Chriſtian VI, A.D. 1730. His ſon Chriſtian VI on the contrary was deemed avaricious. Yet, inſtead of impoſing any new taxes, he aboliſhed ſome of the old. Spirituous

liquors were ſubject to a very heavy duty. The venders, being informed that the king intended to aboliſh it—perhaps, they conjectured, becauſe it was not ſufficiently productive—offered to pay a higher price for their licences. "It is already too "productive," replied Chriſtian, "ſince my ſub- "jects complain of the exactions which it occa- "ſions:" and he ſuppreſſed it.

Chriſtian's ſucceſſor, Frederic V, on his acceſ- Frederic V, A.D.1746. ſion to the throne, formed the reſolution of diſcharging all the debts of the crown. The principal ſtate-creditors wiſhed to divert him from that deſign, and offered to reduce the rate of intereſt if he thought it too high. "The money," replied the monarch, "locked up in my coffers, would "be of no uſe to the public: but, when I ſhall "have repaid it, you will do me a pleaſure, you "will render me a ſervice, by lending thoſe ſums "to my ſubjects at low intereſt, to enable them to "extend their commerce and ſupport their manu- "factures."—This mild and pacific prince was twice married. By his firſt wife, Louiſa of England, he had a ſon and three daughters; his ſecond, Mary of Brunſwick, whom he left a widow at an early age, bore to him a ſon named Frederic. His mother, Sophia of Brandenburg, was yet living at the time of his death.

He was ſucceeded by Chriſtian VII, then in his Chriſtian VII, A.D.1766. ſeventeenth year. This prince captivated every heart by the ſimple unaffected graces of his figure,

and intereſted the feelings of his hearers by the charms of an eaſy fluent elocution. His affability—the uſual concomitant of youth—together with the hopes ever excited by the acceſſion of a new ſovereign, invited to his court the gay train of pleaſures, which the auſterity of his defunct predeceſſor had baniſhed from it.

They were further increaſed by the arrival of the princeſs Caroline-Matilda, ſiſter to the king of England, whom Chriſtian married the ſame year that he aſcended the throne. She was then in the ſixteenth year of her age, and, to great regularity of features, joined a dazzling fairneſs of complexion. Her huſband nevertheleſs treated her with coldneſs, and once, on being reproved for that conduct by his grand-mother Sophia, he anſwered that it was "not genteel to love one's wife." This reply had, doubtleſs, been ſuggeſted to him by the diſſipated young debauchees whom he made his conſtant companions. In their ſociety, by night as well as by day, even in the ſtreets of his capital, he indulged in riotous pleaſures, which ſometimes expoſed him to perſonal danger.

To wean him, if poſſible, from theſe bad habits, his friends adviſed him to travel. Two years after his marriage, quitting his youthful conſort who had recently brought forth to him a ſon, he ſet out for England. He made there only a ſhort ſtay, barely paſſed through Holland, and proceeded to France. His arrival at Paris excited a kind

of enthuſiaſm. The Daniſh monarch won the unanimous ſuffrages of the court and of the capital. "People were aſtoniſhed," ſays a contemporary writer, "to ſee a northern monarch poſſeſs "a delicate air, an elegant ſhape, and ſomething "nearly approaching to manner."

While he was preparing for a viſit to Italy, he received intelligence which induced him to haſte ſuddenly back to his own dominions. Some perſons imagined that his return was occaſioned by political motives; others, that it was cauſed by a miſunderſtanding between the three queens. It appears that the queen dowager Mary, the king's ſtep-mother, whoſe conduct had till then been marked with timidity and reſerve, and whoſe whole attention ſeemed to be centred in the education of her ſon, was at bottom bold, enterpriſing, and capable of riſquing every thing for the ſake of power. The young queen Caroline availed herſelf perhaps too much of her pre-eminence of rank in her conduct toward a rival who had not yet had time to wear off the habits and feelings of her late exalted ſtation. The old queen Sophia ſometimes found herſelf much embarraſſed between them: but the king's arrival ſettled their reſpective pretenſions; and the parties ſeemed to agree together.

The monarch had taken out with him on his travels, and now brought back, a phyſician named Struenſee, whom he diſtinguiſhed as a favourite. The queen, who had been treated with repulſive diſtance by her

huſband even at the commencement of their union, who had been viewed with almoſt conſtant indifference afterward, and who was governed by a fiery conſtitution, looked around for ſome perſon who might avenge her of his neglect. Her huſband's court did not preſent to her any nobleman fit for an enterpriſe of ſuch exceſſive boldneſs: it would have been too eaſy to penetrate the ſecret of her intimacy with any one of them. She conceived that Struenſee's profeſſion, which gave him the privilege of being admitted at all hours, was ſufficient to conceal an amorous intercourſe from the prying eyes of the courtiers.

Struenſee was in the flower of his age, handſome, well-made, polite, refined. Love, and perhaps neceſſity, cauſed Caroline to forget the diſtance between a ſovereign and a phyſician: ſhe diſcloſed to him ſentiments which he cultivated and heightened by means which a voluptuous phyſician ever has opportunities of employing with an impaſſioned woman. The particulars became ſo well known, that Struenſee's victory, which was gained with little oppoſition, was dated from the month of March 1770.

When the lovers had proceeded thus far, they no longer obſerved any bounds. Every place, every ſeaſon, was equally convenient to them. Struenſee, however, ſtrove to inſpire the queen with ſome caution: but his remonſtrances were ineffectual, and he himſelf ſuffered his prudence to

be ſuperſeded by his paſſion. To conceal their connexion, they determined to remove from court every individual, of either ſex, whoſe curioſity might prove troubleſome to them. Struenſee ſtill continued to enjoy the king's favour, and availed himſelf of that advantage with an audacity which created univerſal aſtoniſhment. The courtiers ſought to diſcover the cauſes of that influence which was ſo imperiouſly exerted, and which the queen ſeemed to encourage more than the king. Suſpicions aroſe: they were whiſpered by one to another; and conviction ſoon ſucceeded in their place.

Struenſee had been ſufficiently imprudent to diſguſt the miniſters by rendering difficult their acceſs to the king—to excite the diſcontent of the monarch's foot-guards, who murmured in conſequence, and were caſhiered—to ſubſtitute, in the room of the chief maſter of the wardrobe whom he cauſed to be diſmiſſed, a certain friend of his own, by name Brandt, a man of obſcure origin, and only known by having filled a ſubordinate ſtation at the theatre. Among the perſons whoſe reſidence at court was a ſource of uneaſineſs to him, he had conceived a peculiar averſion to, and he frequently mal-treated by geſtures and words, a brave officer named Keller, who was intimately connected with count Rantzau one of the firſt noblemen in the kingdom, and with the queen dowager Mary. That princeſs alſo had great rea-

ſon to be diſſatisfied with the behaviour of the young queen, who ſtrove, by ill treatment, to drive her from court, where ſhe dreaded the effects of her importunate watchfulneſs. The queen Sophia, who, by the prudence of her counſels and the authority of her age, might have been able to prevent or check the diſorders of her grandſon's wife, died at the time when that princeſs was delivered of a daughter.

The king did not entertain the ſame ideas with the public reſpecting the legitimacy of that daughter: he was not of a ſuſpicious turn of mind; and, ſince his return from his foreign tour, his attention had been devoted to the ſame trifling amuſements which had engaged it previous to his travels. But it may be ſaid that others felt ſuſpicions for him, if it be true that the deſire of avenging the inſulted honour of the monarch impelled them to the undertaking in which they engaged.

We are not informed what were the ſecret preparations for ſo daring a deed. All that is known is that there were numerous mal-contents: but we do not diſcover any other immediate actors in that buſineſs than the queen dowager Mary, the count Rantzau, and Keller.

On the ſeventeenth of February 1772, there was a maſked ball at court. Whether by chance, or in the uſual rotation of duty, Keller's regiment was that day on guard. After the king and queen had retired from the ball, ſo ſoon as they were

ſuppoſed to be in bed, Keller aſſembled his officers, and informed them that the king had given him an order to arreſt queen Caroline, Struenſee, Brandt, and their friends. The officers gave credit to their commander's aſſertion: they did not even think of aſking to ſee the order, but immediately called out their men to arms, who followed Keller to the palace of the queen dowager, where the count Rantzau was in company with her. The three together proceeded to the king's apartment: the queen awaked him, and preſented to him, for his ſignature, an order for the impriſonment of Struenſee and his accomplices. He heſitated for a while, but at length conſented, and ſigned the paper. Another warrant was now demanded for the arreſt of the queen. He refuſed it with ſome warmth: but they ſo alarmed him by the terror of a pretended conſpiracy on the point of breaking forth, that he yielded to their deſire, and wrote the entire order with his own hand, as thoſe three perſons required for their own ſafety.

It was immediately put into execution. Struenſee, his brother, Brandt, and other perſons of leſs note, being ſurpriſed defenceleſs, were ſeiſed, and conducted to the citadel of Copenhagen. Queen Caroline, ſuddenly roufed from her ſleep, betrayed much greater uneaſineſs on her lover's account than on her own. She ran almoſt naked to his apartment, called him with loud cries, behaved like a perſon diſtracted, and would have

thrown herſelf from a window if ſhe had not been with-held. As ſhe ſtruggled with violence, and much embarraſſed Keller againſt whom ſhe had ruſhed, he called in ſome ſoldiers, who carried her off, and, having placed her in a carriage ready prepared for the purpoſe, tranſported her to the caſtle of Cronenburg.

The method which queen Caroline had purſued to prevent her huſband from acquiring a knowledge of her conduct was that of ſurrounding him, as far as in her power, with perſons attached to her intereſt. The queen dowager now adopted the ſame plan to ſecure the king on her ſide: ſhe removed from about him all thoſe who might have been diſpoſed to ſpeak to him in his wife's behalf. She thus held him as it were in a kind of captivity, which he endured without perceiving it, becauſe his keepers (if we may be allowed to uſe that term) permitted him to enjoy his accuſtomed amuſements. Nevertheleſs, as the eaſy temper of Chriſtian left room to apprehend that he might ſuffer himſelf to be affected by ſentiments of indulgence toward his wife, the cabal determined to ſeparate them for-ever by divorce.

The legal proceſs was neither tedious nor intricate; the proofs being more than ſufficient. Beſides, Caroline herſelf, ſo ſoon as Struenſee's confeſſion was read to her, avowed the whole. Struenſee was puniſhed with death; and the ſame fate was experienced by Brandt, who was, how-

ever, no otherwiſe culpable than in not revealing the ſecret of his friend, who had confidentially intruſted it to him once only. The ſentence of divorce being pronounced, the king of England offered to his ſiſter an aſylum in his Hanoverian dominions. The Daniſh court conſented to her acceptance of it; and Caroline, retired in a ſolitary caſtle amid ſurrounding foreſts, dragged on the irkſome burden of a languiſhing life, which was terminated by a malignant febrile diſeaſe in the twenty-fifth year of her age, and at the moment when ſhe was perhaps on the eve of being reſtored to her huſband's favour; for ſhe carried on an epiſtolary correſpondence with him: nor could the queen dowager, although ſhe in other reſpects governed the king with abſolute ſway, ever obtain from him a revelation of the perſon who acted as mediator in that myſterious intercourſe, which ſhe had detected. The diſcovery of that ſecret, which was obſerved to be co-incident in time with queen Caroline's death, gave riſe to a ſuſpicion that the unfortunate princeſs was taken off by poiſon.

It may be obſerved that no kingdom has in general been more happy in its ſovereigns than Denmark. In ſo long a ſucceſſion of monarchs, it is aſtoniſhing to find ſo few unworthy of the throne. It would ſeem as if elective monarchy were alone attended with the advantage of furniſhing good kings: yet we muſt remark, that it is

from the period when the crown was rendered hereditary, that Denmark has been governed by the beſt kings, without any mixture of bad. So great a difference is made, in the adminiſtration, between a property which the poſſeſſor views as a patrimony for his children, and another of which he only conſiders himſelf tenant for life, without any hope for his family.

SWEDEN.

Sweden, between Denmark, Norway, the Frozen ocean, the White ſea, Livonia, and Poland.

Sweden ſcarcely preſents more than two ſeaſons, winter and ſummer. The former continues during two thirds of the year: but the ſky is clear: the air is pure: the moon, the ſnow, the twilight, render the nights leſs tedious, and even give beauty to them. The ſummer is very hot, and attended with equal ſerenity. The country is diverſified with marſhes, foreſts, and mountains, which latter contain mines of iron, copper, and even ſilver and gold. The moſt curious is that of Sala. The deſcent into it is performed in a tub ſuſpended by a cable; and to re-aſcend by the ſame conveyance, requires half an hour. In the tub the viſitor is accompanied by a man grimed with ſmoke, carrying a torch which ſheds a dim light, and occaſionally chanting ſongs in a lugubrious tone. In the paſſage he feels intenſe cold, hears torrents rolling on every ſide of him, and the echoes multiplying the ſound of their fall. At length he reaches a vaſt cavern, where he diſ-

covers regular rows of houſes as in a city, a church, a ſtream of ſweet water flowing through the middle of the ſcene, and the vault ſupported by columns which appear as if coated with ſilver, and which reflect in every direction a dazzling light. Such is the picture which travelers give us of that ſubterraneous abode. Have they not perhaps heightened the colouring, leſt we ſhould accuſe them of having taken great trouble for an object of ſmall importance?

Lapland, a province belonging to Sweden, preſents a hideous aſpect. Winter reigns there during ten months of the year: during the remaining two, the ſun ſcarcely ever ſets. The earth then ſuddenly clothes itſelf with plants and flowers: but at the ſame time burſt forth into exiſtence whole clouds of tormenting flies which oblige the Laplanders to ſurround themſelves with thick ſmoke. They travel in ſledges drawn over the ſnow by rein-deer, which ſometimes carry them ninety miles a day.

Sweden is a monarchy ſubject to the ſtates, which aſſemble every third year. The peaſantry have there ſome weight in the ſcale, and form a diſtinct order. There is a permanent ſenate. The œconomy of the government is well regulated. The laws are marked with wiſdom. We will quote one only—that which concerns duels. When one of the combatants is killed, the ſurvivor is puniſhed with death; and the memory of both is

branded with infamy. If neither fall, they ſuffer two years' confinement on bread and water. Hence, inſtead of challenges, appeals are made to the tribunals; and the aggreſſor is condemned to make public reparation. A ſalutary check on the paſſions of a nation at once iraſcible and delicate on the point of honour!

The Swediſh annals reach back beyond the vulgar æra: but, until the period of the introduction of Chriſtianiſm into the country, about the middle of the ninth century, they ſcarcely contain any thing but abſurd fables. We indeed find in them a ſeries of kings, but without fixed dates, or any certainty in the ſucceſſion. The good qualities and the vices which hiſtory attributes to them are equally exaggerated. Mankind have ever delighted in the marvelous: whence, inſtead of aſcribing the great achievements of their monarchs to their valour and mental powers, the Swediſh annaliſts have deſcribed them as the reſult of magic operations.

Almoſt all their early kings are repreſented as ſorcerers. When they could not make their ſoldiers climb a mountain, they removed it. If they were ſtopped by a river, they dried it up or forced back its ſtream by a motion of the hand. With a blaſt from their mouth they overturned foreſts. Whenever they ſtood in need of a calm or a tempeſt, they ſpoke, and the elements obeyed their voice. After death, thoſe magicians became

gods. Territorial conqueſt was ſeldom the motive of their wars: for there were few ſpots ſufficiently alluring in thoſe frozen regions, where moreover tracts ſo extenſive lay unoccupied. The general incentive to hoſtilities was either a treaſure amaſſed by an avaricious king, or a young and beautiful princeſs whoſe hand was promiſed as the reward of ſuperior proweſs. One would imagine that theſe ſavage countries were the birthplace of chivalry: at leaſt we cannot fail to diſcover that the exceſſes of that whimſical aſſociation were there very common—challenges, adventureſeekings, fraternities of arms, compacts of friendſhip for life and death.

Such is that between Hunding king of Sweden and Hading king of Denmark. After having fought againſt each other a number of unavailing battles, ſhed ſtreams of blood, and exhauſted the treaſures of both nations, thoſe two princes abjured their reciprocal animoſity, and vowed to each other eternal friendſhip. The chief condition was, that, whenever the one ſhould be informed of the other's death, he ſhould kill himſelf. While the Swediſh monarch lived happy in his court, enjoying the ſweets of a peaceful life after the fatigues of his martial exploits, intelligence was ſuddenly brought to him that the Daniſh king had ceaſed to live. Without examining into the truth of the report, Hunding aſſembled his courtiers, gave them a great feaſt, and at the concluſion

threw himſelf into a butt of mead, and drowned himſelf. Hading, as we may naturally ſuppoſe, did not without pain hear the news of his friend's death. But, although he might have demurred reſpecting the motives to the ſuicide which ought to have been more maturely weighed, the Dane conſidered only the obligation impoſed on him by the point of honour, to obſerve his promiſe and not ſurvive his friend. He therefore aſſembled in like manner his court, entertained them with a great banquet, and hanged himſelf in their preſence.

In the year 853, the Swedes were converted in crowds to the Chriſtian religion. The monk Anſcharius, ſent into the country by Louis the Débonnaire, baptiſed them by hundreds at a time. But their faith depended in ſome meaſure on circumſtances. While they yet glowed with the firſt fervor inſpired by their converſion, a dreadful famine ravaging the kingdom, the people imagined that the infliction of that ſcourge might probably be an effect of the reſentment of their former gods who were incenſed by the dereliction of their worſhip. They therefore endeavoured to compel their king Olaus to renew the accuſtomed ſacrifices to them, and, on his refuſal to comply with their deſire, put him to death. Every thing was in extremes at that period. One king was prodigiouſly pious: his ſucceſſor was a magician. The one reſpected the miſſionaries even to

adoration: the other maſſacred them. While the churches were pillaged in one part of the country, in others they were enriched by exorbitant donations. Some eccleſiaſtics, ſent by Ethelred king of England, collected an offering of ſix hundred marks of ſilver at the celebration of a ſingle maſs. After that ſpecimen of liberality, we can no longer be ſurpriſed that the Swediſh clergy became in time ſo opulent, and conſequently ſo powerful. The ſubmiſſion, however, of the Swedes to Chriſtianiſm was not in every inſtance voluntary: for we find perſecutions againſt thoſe who refuſed to embrace it, and thoſe perſecutions avenged by the murder of the kings who were their authors. Theſe viciſſitudes cauſe as great confuſion in the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory of Sweden, as exiſts in its civil hiſtory. To give the one and the other in ſome kind of order, we will commence from a period which equally ſuits both.

In 1141, the throne was occupied by Eric, ſurnamed the Holy. He founded numerous monaſteries, promulgated admirable laws, and cauſed them to be punctually obſerved. Nevertheleſs, as nothing is ſafe from the tongue of obloquy, it has been aſſerted that, under his reign, religion had degenerated into ſuperſtition, that juſtice was carried to the extent of rigor, and even of cruelty. It was only by virtue of a compromiſe with Charles the ſon of his immediate predeceſſor, that the crown was poſſeſſed by Eric. He was ſon-in-law to a

Eric IX, A.D. 1141.

former king; but his virtues cauſed him to be preferred to Charles, with the condition, however, annexed to that preference, that, on his death, the crown ſhould revert to Charles.

Charles VII, A.D. 1160. On Eric's deceaſe, Charles experienced ſome difficulties before he could aſcend the throne to which that ſtipulation entitled him. They were occaſioned by a ſuſpicion of his having contributed to the death of Eric, who was killed in battle. The ſon of the latter, named Canute Ericſon, was the perſon whom the Swedes wiſhed to appoint as his ſucceſſor. Charles however obtained the diadem; and Canute, fearing the reſentment of his ſucceſsful rival, fled into Norway. Charles was warmly devoted to the ſee of Rome, whoſe influence had been inſtrumental in placing him on the throne. In gratitude for that ſervice, he granted to the ſovereign pontif the entire inheritance of every Swede who ſhould die without poſterity, and even a portion of the property of thoſe who left iſſue.

Seeing himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, Charles no longer feared the competition of Canute, but invited him to return, and promiſed him the title of preſumptive heir to the crown. But the high-minded ſon of Eric diſdained to accept the boon proffered by him whom he conſidered as the murderer of his father. He returned indeed into Sweden, but at the head of an army which he had raiſed in Norway, and, having made Charles priſoner, condemned him to death. It is not

clearly decided whether that ſentence was dictated by juſtice or ambition. Certainly Canute is not free from the imputation of having ſuffered himſelf to be governed by the latter, and ſhown little delicacy in his choice of the means of gratifying it. In other reſpects he bears the character of a great king; and his memory figures with honour in the annals of Sweden.

His ſon Suercher was choſen his ſucceſſor, on condition that the ſceptre ſhould, after the death of the latter, paſs to the hand of Eric the ſon of Charles. To confirm this arrangement, Eric eſpouſed Suercher's daughter, and named as his ſucceſſor that prince's ſon John, his brother-in-law. The latter was ſucceeded by the ſon of Eric X, whoſe name alſo was Eric.

Suercher, A.D. 1191.

Eric X, A.D. 1210.

John, A.D. 1220.

Eric XI. A.D. 1223.

A ſhort time previous to his acceſſion, this prince was attacked by a palſy which deprived him of the uſe of an arm and a leg, affected his tongue, and cauſed him to ſtammer, whence he received the ſurname of the Stammerer. It moreover gave him an air of idiotiſm which conveyed a diſadvantageous idea of his talents. But he retained all his mental faculties in their full vigor, and gave proofs of them in circumſtances of difficulty.

There was in Sweden a powerful family of the name of Falkunger. Eric, hoping to quiet their ambition by his favours, gave his ſiſters in marriage to two of them, and himſelf eſpouſed one of

their daughters. But, notwithſtanding this alliance, the eldeſt of the Falkungers, by name Canute, a man endowed with ſeductive eloquence, and in that particular much ſuperior to the Stammerer, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king. In courage, however, and capacity, he had not the advantage over Eric, who combated him, made him priſoner, and inflicted on him the puniſhment of decapitation. The king had another brother-in-law, named Birger-Jerl, whoſe ſervices he uſefully employed in that war. On Eric's death, the public ſuffrage elected as his ſucceſſor his nephew Waldemar, a youth under age, and ſon to Birger, who was appointed regent.

Waldemar, A.D. 1250.

The family of Falkunger was rivaled by that of Flockenger, which was equally powerful, and not leſs ambitious. Birger, an enemy to the latter, treacherouſly circumvented and beheaded them all, except one, named Charles. The regent retained the authority as long as he was able, and did not, until his death, ſurrender it to Waldemar. It appears that he had given a conſiderable ſhare of it to another of his ſons, by name Magnus. The two brothers lived on ſuch good terms with each other, that Waldemar, ſetting out on a pilgrimage to Rome and Jeruſalem, intruſted the government of his kingdom to Magnus, who faithfully reſtored it to his brother after his return. But in the ſequel diſcord aroſe between them: nor could the chiefs of the nation find any other mean

of preventing its conſequences than that of dividing Sweden and giving to each a part. But this proved a miſchievous expedient, and, contrary to the expectation of thoſe who adopted it, produced a civil war. Waldemar loſt his crown. Magnus wore it with glory, and kept ſo firm poſſeſſion of it as to be enabled to tranſmit it to his ſon Birger, in ſpite of the efforts which Waldemar made to recover it. Magnus, A.D. 1276.

Birger being no more than eleven years old, his father appointed Torkel Cnutſon as his guardian, and regent of the kingdom. Birger, after he had attained the age of majority, proved himſelf to be poſſeſſed of talents. Together with thoſe talents, he ſhowed a ſtrong jealouſy of his two brothers, Waldemar and Eric. Magnus had committed the error of beſtowing on them apanages which rendered them ſufficiently powerful to make war on the king their brother. It is not eaſy to decide on which ſide lay the wrong: but the iſſue proved favourable to the two princes, who made the monarch priſoner. They did not releaſe him until he had conſented to grant them privileges which converted their apanages into real ſovereignties. Birger II. A.D. 1290.

Reſtored to liberty, Birger formed the deſign not only of recovering his authority, but alſo of extending his vengeance even to the perſons of his brothers. During ſeven years he foſtered the dark project in his boſom, laviſhing on them meantime the moſt flattering careſſes, and beguiling them by

every poſſible mark of confidence. By the dextrous uſe of theſe means, he baniſhed all ſuſpicion from their minds, and decoyed them into a fortreſs which was the place of his reſidence. There the perfidious traitor gave them the moſt amicable reception: but, during the ſilence of the night, while they lay in their firſt ſleep, he burſt into their apartment at the head of a band of ruffians. Waldemar was immediately ſeiſed without reſiſtance: but Eric, attempting to defend himſelf, was pierced with ſeveral wounds. Birger poured on his unfortunate brothers a torrent of opprobrious and ſcoffing language, after which he ordered them to be loaded with irons and thrown into a dungeon. In that ſituation, Eric died of his wounds, which had remained undreſſed, and Waldemar periſhed with hunger.

This atrocious tranſaction rouſed all Sweden to arms; and Birger, unable to withſtand the univerſal combination againſt him, fled for refuge to the king of Denmark, whoſe daughter he had married. At his court he experienced a reception too good for ſo deteſtable a villain—coldneſs and indifference. In fleeing from the vengeance of his ſubjects, he had left behind him a ſon named Magnus. So violent was the public indignation againſt the parent, that it fell on the ſon, who, though he appears to have been innocent, was condemned to death by the diet, through hatred of his father.

The aſſembly of the ſtates placed on the throne

Magnus, the ſon of the unfortunate Eric, although not more than three years old. They appointed as his guardian, under the title of protector of the kingdom, Kettlemunſon, a zealous adherent and friend of the two murdered brethren. Under his protectorate, the adminiſtration was conducted with prudence, firmneſs, and policy. It was guided by caprice under Magnus, who ſuffered himſelf to be governed by his favourites. Entirely ſwayed by a crowd of inconſiderate young men, he began by announcing to Denmark haughty pretenſions which aimed at nothing leſs than the ſovereignty of that kingdom. Fruſtrated of his expectations in that quarter, he turned his arms againſt the Ruſſians, with whom he waged an unſucceſsful war. At the ſame time he loaded the people with taxes, of which he laviſhed the produce on his courtiers, and, among others, on a young nobleman whom he created duke of Halland, while the queen gratified him with other favours not leſs diſhonourable to the king. Magnus, A.D. 1320.

Struck with this mixture of weakneſs and tyranny in their monarch, the people paſſed from contempt to hatred. The nobles, convinced of the king's incapacity, propoſed to him to deſcend to a private ſtation which was the moſt ſuitable for him, and to reſign his two crowns to his ſons—that of Sweden to Eric the elder, and that of Norway to Hacquin the younger. The queen, who had great influence on his mind, prevented

him from acceding to the propoſed meaſure: but he was compelled to it, and Eric choſen in his ſtead.

A war now broke out between the father and the ſon, which was terminated by a partition of the kingdom between them. The queen, diſſatisfied to ſee herſelf thus ſtripped of half her former authority, poiſoned her ſon: whereupon Magnus re-entered into the poſſeſſion of undivided power: but, conſcious of his own weakneſs, he placed himſelf under the protection of the king of Denmark whom he had formerly attempted to deſpoil of his kingdom, and gave him one of the fineſt provinces of Sweden, on condition of being aſſiſted by him in caſe of need. This ſurrender having excited the indignation of the ſtates, Magnus, to avoid the reſentment of his ſubjects, fled into Norway, of which realm he had ceded the crown to his ſon Hacquin.

The Swedes made violent complaints to that prince againſt the conduct of his father, accompanied by a requeſt that he might not ſuffer him to return to Sweden. Unwilling to diſoblige them, and fearing leſt a refuſal ſhould throw a bar in his own way to the Swediſh throne, Hacquin conſented to detain his father, and moreover to break off all connexion with Waldemar king of Denmark, whoſe ambition and new intrigues excited the fears of the Swedes. But Hacquin himſelf did not faithfully adhere to his engagement: on the

contrary, he married Waldemar's daughter, the celebrated Margaret; which ſo incenſed the Swedes, that they depoſed the father, declared void all his ſon's claims to the crown of Sweden, and conferred it on Albert duke of Mecklenburg. Albert, A.D. 1365.

Albert conducted himſelf ſo ill in the government, and ſo many diſorders and depredations were committed by the Germans who compoſed his court and army, that the Swedes, although they abhorred the Daniſh yoke, choſe rather to bend their necks to it than remain ſubject to that of the Germans. Margaret had at an early period of her age loſt her huſband Hacquin, who left her no iſſue except a ſon named Olaus. Death having carried off the young prince, his mother continued to govern Norway, and diſplayed ſo great prudence in her adminiſtration, that, on the death of her father Waldemar, the Danes thought themſelves happy in ſeeing their ſceptre devolve to the hand of his daughter, to whom beſides it now of right belonged in conſequence of the extinction of Waldemar's other progeny. Margaret evinced equal capacity in the government of that ſecond kingdom: whence the Swedes, conceiving that ſhe could with the ſame eaſe manage the affairs of a third, made to her a tender of their diadem. It Margaret. A.D. 1387 was not on her head a vain ornament: for, with the authority of a ſovereign, ſhe exerted all the rights which that crown conferred on her. After the abdication of Albert, ſhe united the three

realms by the treaty of Calmar. But, although ſhe had engaged to ſhow no preference in her attention to any one above the other two, ſhe could not avoid betraying a predilection for the kingdom of Denmark, which was her paternal inheritance. This partiality appears in the laſt advice which ſhe gave on her death-bed to Eric, her diſtant relative, whom ſhe appointed her ſucceſſor. "Sweden," ſaid ſhe, "muſt feed you: Norway muſt clothe "you: and, with reſpect to Denmark, you muſt "ſpare that kingdom, as the magazine of all your "reſources in caſes of neceſſity."

Eric XII, A.D. 1412.

No country has ever been rendered more unfortunate than Sweden by the very meaſures deviſed to promote its welfare. From time immemorial it was engaged in wars with Denmark: rivers of blood had flowed; and whenever hoſtilities had been ſuſpended, that ſuſpenſion was the effect not of a ſubſtantial treaty of peace, but of a wretched truce made for the ſole purpoſe of recovering ſtrength to aim at each more deadly blows. The Swedes, weary of thoſe inceſſant viciſſitudes, acceded to the union of Calmar, which they conſidered as a meaſure dictated by wiſe policy, and calculated to inſure to them and their poſterity that peace which their progenitors had never enjoyed. They moreover expected to find the advantages of a free government under kings who ſhould act as their protectors: but, even in the reign of Margaret, they already felt the reſtraints

of oppreſſion. Under Eric they ſtruggled with the Daniſh yoke, and endeavoured to ſhake it off: but their exertions produced no other effect than that of rendering its weight more heavy and galling.

It is not eaſy to conceive the woes with which Sweden was overwhelmed during the reign of that indolent prince, or the exceſſes committed by the inſolent governors whom he ſent thither. They ruined the nobles by compelling them to ſerve at their own expenſe in the continental wars undertaken by the Danes, and to pay from their own purſes the price of their ranſom whenever they fell priſoners into the hands of the enemy. They promoted Daniſh ſubjects to the Swediſh prelacies, and received a ſhare of the ſpoil which thoſe intruded foreigners acquired by plundering the clergy. One of thoſe governors, Ericſon of Weſterahs, declared himſelf a ſworn enemy to that inoffenſive and laborious claſs of men, the peaſants. He cauſed them to be maſſacred and ſubjected to cruel tortures for his mere amuſement: ſome he ſmothered with ſmoke: others he flayed and ſalted and broiled alive. With reſpect to the women, he took a pleaſure in ordering them to be yoked to the plough, and driven with the goad, after the manner of oxen.

We need not be ſurpriſed that ſuch enormities of violent tyranny, though perhaps confined to a ſingle diſtrict, excited a general inſurrection. The

ſenate, who were treated with more delicacy, for ſome time heſitated to renounce their allegiance to Eric, eſpecially as they ſaw that it was not a patriotic regard to the public welfare, but ambition and the deſire of invading a throne which already was nearly vacant, that impelled the nobles to provoke a revolution. In the foremoſt rank of the competitors ſtood Charles Canutſon, grand marechal of the realm. He was oppoſed by ſome rivals, among whom was his own brother-in-law Nicolas Steno. Eric availed himſelf of their conteſt: after having ſuffered the diſgrace of a ſolemn depoſition, he procured himſelf to be re-inſtated on the throne, under certain conditions which he ſubſcribed as propoſed to him by the ſenate: and he now ſo firmly eſtabliſhed his authority, as to tranſmit the Swediſh diadem to Chriſtopher, his ſucceſſor in Denmark. Chriſtopher ruled the Swedes with a ſceptre of iron. They were on the eve of depoſing him, when he died. Having aſſembled a diet, they appointed two brothers, Bengt and Nils Janſon, as regents until they ſhould form a determination reſpecting the choice of a king.

Charles Canutſon, A.D. 1447.

Canutſon did not forget his own intereſts in that emergency, but ſo ſucceſsfully flattered the regents that he obtained a nomination to the regal dignity. To the Swediſh crown he alſo added that of Norway, which was ſpontaneouſly tendered to him. This two-fold inſtance of good fortune inſpired him with a wiſh to acquire alſo the Daniſh

diadem: but he ought rather to have employed his attention in ſecuring the two former on his head. On the contrary, however, in addition to the unfortunate war which he undertook againſt Denmark, he quarreled with his clergy. The archbiſhop of Upſal ſhowed himſelf overtly hoſtile to him, and, in a manifeſto publicly read and poſted up on the gate of his cathedral, accuſed him of having oppreſſed the clergy and laity, of being a heretic, and of conferring all offices and employments on his infamous favourites.

After this proclamation the prelate returned into the church, diveſted himſelf of his epiſcopal robes, put on a coat of mail, and ſwore that he would never reſume the eccleſiaſtic habit until the kingdom ſhould be reſtored to happineſs. By that happineſs he underſtood the expulſion of Canutſon, which he had concerted with the Daniſh monarch, Chriſtian I; and ſo effectually did he labour for the accompliſhment of that object, that Canutſon, cloſely blockaded in Stockholm, deemed himſelf very fortunate in being able to eſcape from that city with his treaſure, which he tranſported to Dantzic. After his flight, Chriſtian was placed on the Swediſh throne. Chriſtian I, A.D. 1448.

No long time elapſed ere the archbiſhop was puniſhed for that indulgence of his reſentment: for Chriſtian, not finding in him a docility equal to his expectations, cauſed him to be ſeiſed and carried away to Denmark. This act of violence

having deprived the monarch of the ſupport of the clergy, Canutſon ſeiſed the propitious moment, and re-aſcended the throne. It was now Chriſtian's turn to pay court to the archbiſhop his priſoner. He ſent him back to Sweden perfectly appeaſed, and flattered by the promiſe of placing in his hands the whole regal authority if he could procure for him a reſtoration of the title. Fired with this hope, the prelate ſo effectually exerted his efforts, that, after a ſanguinary conflict, Canutſon was compelled not only to retire as before, but alſo to ſwear that he would never reſume the ſceptre, even though it ſhould be offered to him.

That oath was the oath of an ambitious man! His implacable enemy, the archbiſhop, being removed by death, the oath was forgotten, and Canutſon again encircled his brows with the diadem. But it was not long before he deſcended to the tomb, decorated with that ornament ſo dear to the living, which he had purchaſed by twenty-ſeven years of toils and difficulties. Chriſtian reaped no advantage from Canutſon's death: for the Swedes, being weary of the Daniſh yoke, choſe from one of the principal families in the kingdom a protector or regent, named Steen Sture. His adminiſtration, which laſted twenty years, was very turbulent: he had the people on his ſide; but the ſenate were adverſe to him. He was arraigned, depoſed, re-eſtabliſhed, and had the gratification of ſeeing the ſtates emancipate themſelves

from all ſubjection to Chriſtian. That pleaſure, however, was ſoon ſucceeded by the chagrin of ſeeing them acknowledge another Swediſh monarch, John, to whom the regent was obliged to ſubmit, and at the ſame time to abdicate his authority. John, A.D. 1497.

Steen Sture aſſiſted at the coronation of the new king: on which occaſion he betrayed ſome ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction which indicated that he would not long delay to exert his utmoſt efforts for the recovery of that authority and rank which he had been forced to relinquiſh. In effect, he ſo judiciouſly availed himſelf of John's errors, ſo ſucceſsfully fomented the public diſcontent, that he was again appointed regent. He died in 1504, having to his death poſſeſſed that dignity, which was now conferred on Suante Sture, who, like him, was deſcended from the family that had formerly worn the crown. The latter dying in 1512, the ſtates appointed in his ſtead the ſon of Steen Sture, a young man endowed with eſtimable qualities.

Notwithſtanding his talents and valour, Sweden was invaded by Chriſtian II, John's ſucceſſor on the Daniſh throne. That invader was aſſiſted by Guſtavus Trolle archbiſhop of Upſal, who had been Sture's competitor for the regency, and who now perſonally proclaimed the Dane. Purſuant to a proviſional arrangement, Chriſtian obtained as hoſtages ſome diſtinguiſhed members of the nobility, among whom was the young Guſtavus Chriſtian II, A.D. 1520.

Vaſa, who was tranſported with the others to Denmark. The regent did not ſuffer himſelf to be diſconcerted by the ſuperiority which the Daniſh monarch derived from the poſſeſſion of ſo many important perſonages, but courageouſly aſſerted the rights of his country. He fought the enemy, fell in the thick of the conflict, was carried off by his friends, and died of his wounds. His death facilitated to Chriſtian the means of executing the dreadful project which he had formed for the oppreſſion of Sweden.

The cruel policy of tyrants reſembles the ſavage inſtinct of the beaſts of prey, which teaches them to tear the guardians to pieces, that they may afterward more eaſily devour the flock. Chriſtian cut off the chief men of the nation with the axe of the executioner. The entire ſenate was conducted to death before the eyes of the citizens of Stockholm, who beheld that maſſacre with apparent apathy. The peaſantry viewed the event in no other light than as a juſt retribution for the oppreſſive conduct of the nobles who had converted the monarchy into a kind of ariſtocracy. They flattered themſelves with the hope of greater happineſs under the government of a ſingle ruler: but that expectation was fruſtrated: for Chriſtian, now become abſolute maſter, and uncontroled by fear or reſtraint, indiſcriminately pillaged all ranks, erected every-where ſcaffolds and gibbets, and brandiſhed the ſcythe of death over every head.

It was not ſufficient gratification of his barbarity to deprive his victims of life: he took moreover a pleaſure in prolonging the duration of their ſufferings by the ſight of the preparations which preceded the execution: he wiſhed to give them as it were a full reliſh of all the bitterneſs of death. Among other inſtances of his cruelty, he is ſaid to have obliged women to ſew with their own hands the ſacks in which they were to be tied up and drowned.

While confined as a hoſtage in Denmark, young Guſtavus Vaſa, the deſcendent of a family allied to that of the former kings, diſplayed qualities which attracted the dangerous notice of Chriſtian. After ineffectual efforts to gain over the Swede, the tyrant iſſued his mandate for putting him to death. Eric Banner, a Daniſh nobleman, who was charged with that deteſtable commiſſion, inſtead of executing it, obtained its revocation. He even held forth the hope that he ſhould be able to inſpire the youth with a favourable diſpoſition to the Daniſh government. For that purpoſe he took him into his cuſtody, on condition of paying a conſiderable ſum if he ſuffered him to eſcape.

Guſtavus was not long under Banner's roof before he gained the eſteem and friendſhip of the whole family. He was favoured with a reaſonable ſhare of liberty, even with permiſſion to hunt, and other indulgencies ſufficient to beguile the irkſome moments, were it poſſible for a perſon to forget

the circumſtance of his captivity. Reſtraint became more painful, and the deſire of eſcape more powerful, from the moment when Guſtavus heard of the maſſacre of Stockholm, in which his father had been involved. Conſidering himſelf thenceforward as intruſted with the fate of his country, he mounted his horſe according to cuſtom, under pretence of going to the chaſe, plunged deep into the foreſt, and aſſumed the garb of a peaſant. After a march of two days through almoſt impracticable paths and over mountains, he arrived at the laſt town on the Daniſh frontier. No perſon was admitted into the place without a paſſport. Fortunately, however, a fair happened at that critical juncture to be held there for the ſale of cattle. Guſtavus preſented himſelf to the governor in the character of a dealer, and was ſuffered to paſs unmoleſted to Lubec. Banner, who had ſet out in purſuit of the fugitive, overtook him there, and reproached him with a breach of confidence. Guſtavus pleaded the exiſting circumſtances in apology, appeaſed his late hoſt by a promiſe of remitting to him the ſum at which his ranſom had been rated, and, without delay, departed for Sweden, although he knew that orders had been every-where given in that kingdom to arreſt him.

The firſt town where he made himſelf known had belonged to the deceaſed regent, whoſe widow ſtill lived in it with her children and a German garriſon. Thoſe mercenary ſoldiers were actually

in treaty with Chriſtian's emiſſaries, and only waited for an increaſe of the advantageous offers made to them, to deliver up the place. Guſtavus entered into a conference with them, aſſailed them with the uſual arguments calculated to make an impreſſion on their minds, the glory of avenging innocent blood, the pleaſure of making a tyrant repent of his violent deeds. They aſked him where were his reſources, his army, his treaſures. He remained ſilent. They called him a madman, and thought they ſhowed him great favour in not apprehending him.

He had not been able to veil his motions in ſuch ſecrecy as to elude the knowledge of the Danes. Their garriſons ſent out parties in ſearch of him; and he ſaw himſelf nearly ſurrounded. On the point of being ſeiſed, he eſcaped concealed in a waggon of hay, and ſought ſhelter in a retired ſpot where ſtood an old caſtle belonging to his family. Thence he wrote to every brave Swede of his acquaintance who felt for the honour of his country. But the terror excited by the maſſacre at Stockholm had frozen up their courage. Even the inhabitants of the rural diſtricts who ſurrounded him, whether through conſternation or indifference, participated the general torpor. Guſtavus mingled with them, ranged through their villages, aſſiſted at their aſſemblies and repaſts, harangued them, and ſtimulated them to ſhake off the yoke of the Daniſh tyrant. But they anſwered—

" Under his government we have ſalt and herrings.
" Whatever may be the ſucceſs of a revolution,
" we cannot be otherwiſe than poor. We are
" peaſants; and peaſants we muſt ſtill remain,
" whoever may be our king."

Repulſed in that quarter, and thinking him inſecure in that abode of his anceſtors where ſearch might be made for him, Guſtavus adopted the reſolution of proceeding to Dalecarlia. If he ſhould not ſucceed in rouſing the inhabitants to inſurrection, at leaſt he hoped there to find a proper place of concealment, and to live in ſafety in the receſſes of the mountains and thick foreſts which cover the face of that province. He reſumed his ruſtic dreſs, and, accompanied by a ſingle man whom he took as the guide of his way, traverſed a rugged and difficult country. Nearly arrived at the place of his deſtination, he was robbed and abandoned by his conductor, and thus found himſelf deſtitute of money in a ſtrange place, unknowing and unknown. Urged by the call of hunger, he buried himſelf in the mines, and there wrought for a ſubſiſtence. Under his coarſe garb, a woman perceived a fine embroidered ſhirt, which led her to ſuſpect that he was ſome man of diſtinguiſhed rank whom perſecution had driven to ſeek an aſylum in thoſe caverns. She mentioned her diſcovery to a neighbouring gentleman, whoſe curioſity immediately prompted him to repair to the mine for the purpoſe of offering his protection to

the unfortunate ſtranger. On approaching, he recogniſed Guſtavus, who had been his fellow-ſtudent at the univerſity of Upſal. Prudence obliged him to conceal his aſtoniſhment. He beckoned to him; and the miner followed him to his houſe.

How ſweet the delight, when, in the ſociety of a companion of his youth, one can enjoy again by retroſpect the innocent pleaſures of his early years! But how charming the emotion, when, to thoſe fond remembrances, he can add the tender effuſions of his heart on objects intereſting to his affection! the captivity of his relatives and friends! their bloody deaths! his uncertainty reſpecting the fate of the ſurvivers! what doom awaits himſelf! The honeſt Dalecarlian dwelt with enthuſiaſtic warmth on all thoſe topics: he quoted with animation and heart-felt ſatisfaction various inſtances of the valour of his compatriots, their hatred of the Danes, their attachment to the family of their ancient ſovereigns, the means of attack and defence furniſhed by the nature of the country and the courage of its inhabitants. Guſtavus liſtened to him with rapture: his boſom heaved with panting joy: he conceived the moſt exalted hopes: but, when he talked to his hoſt of employing thoſe means, the idea of expoſing his wife and children, of abandoning his houſe, that ſeat of pleaſure which he had himſelf erected, thoſe arbours which he had planted, all thoſe

ſweet enjoyments which marked his days with bliſs—that chilling idea cooled the ardor of the Dalecarlian. He was incapable of betraying Guſtavus; but he felt not ſufficient courage to co-operate with him. The fugitive youth perceived that his preſence could thenceforward only tend to diſturb the peace of a man whoſe diſpoſition inclined him to a life of eaſe and tranquillity. He therefore quitted him, ſtill, however, relying on his diſcretion; and, truſting to his own good fortune, he took his way, without a guide, through foreſts and over mountains, and arrived ſafe at the houſe of a nobleman named Peterſon, with whom he had formerly been acquainted in the army.

Peter recogniſed him, ruſhed into his embraces, liſtened with every appearance of lively intereſt to the recital of his misfortunes, ſeemed more affected by them than Guſtavus himſelf, exclaimed againſt the tyranny of the Danes, entered into all the projects of his gueſt, and enumerated to him the neighbouring nobles and peaſants on whoſe ſervices he could depend. Delighted with finding at length a gallant Swede who was animated by the ſame ſentiments as himſelf and willing to participate his fortune, Guſtavus unboſomed himſelf to his hoſt, freely diſcloſing to him all his plans, together with the means of execution. No ſooner had Peterſon obtained ſufficient information, than the traitor privately went to a Daniſh officer, and,

in the hope of a rich recompenſe, betrayed to him all Guſtavus's projects, and the ſecret of his concealment. The Dane ſurrounded the houſe. But compaſſion, and perhaps a more tender ſentiment, watched over the preſervation of the fugitive patriot. Peterſon's wife opportunely appriſed him of her huſband's perfidy, favoured his eſcape, and procured for him a ſhelter in the houſe of a neighbouring clergyman.

That eccleſiaſtic—ſuch as may ſometimes be found in rural parts—was a perſon who attentively ſtudied mankind, reflected on public affairs, obſerved the courſe of events, felt no bias in favour of any party, and was capable of giving excellent advice. He received Guſtavus with reſpect and tenderneſs; and, far from being terrified by the project which the young hero entertained of oppoſing the power of Denmark, he traced out to him the path which he muſt purſue to obtain ultimate ſucceſs. "It is not," ſaid he, "the nobles "that you muſt endeavour to gain over to your "party; for they, ſatisfied with the ſecurity and "independence which they enjoy in their moun-"tains, take little concern in the revolutions that "happen at court. It will be difficult to prevail "on them to arm their vaſſals, becauſe their "wealth entirely depends on the labours of that "body of men, which will be ſuſpended by a war. "But the vaſſals muſt be induced to take up arms "of their own accord."

To prepare matters for that criſis, the prieſt undertook to procure the circulation of a report that the Danes were preparing to come into the province to eſtabliſh new taxes by force of arms. He employed his relatives and friends to diſſeminate the alarming intelligence; and when he ſaw that the public mind was ſufficiently impreſſed with the idea, he adviſed Guſtavus to preſent himſelf at a public feaſt held in a ſmall town where all the peaſants of the ſurrounding diſtrict were annually wont to aſſemble. "Never," added he, "are they "more inclined to revolt than at the times of thoſe "meetings, when they eſtimate their ſtrength from "their number."

The young hero made his appearance at the appointed time and place. The minds of the peaſants were prepared. His air of intrepidity and reſolution, tempered by a mixture of melancholy which was naturally excited by the death of his father and the other ſenators, affected the hearts of the gazing multitude. He ſpoke to them of that horrible maſſacre, of the deplorable ſtate of the kingdom, of the perſecutions which the Swedes daily ſuffered, and thoſe with which they were further threatened. He was interrupted by exclamations of rage againſt the Danes.—Guſtavus took advantage of their kindled ardor, aſſembled around him the moſt determined of his auditors, ruſhed with them to attack the fortreſs where reſided the governor who was far from expecting

that hoſtile viſit, took it by aſſault, and put to the ſword the commandant and all his Danes.

From that moment the life of Guſtavus was an un-interrupted ſeries of triumphs. At the head of his Dalecarlians, he haſarded the moſt perilous enterpriſes of war, and his efforts were invariably crowned with victory. The moſt aſtoniſhing of his exploits was a pedeſtrian attack made in the open ſea on the Daniſh fleet. He was engaged in beſieging Stockholm, and cloſely preſſed the garriſon. The Danes came to their aſſiſtance. A ſudden froſt bound their veſſels in ice at a diſtance from the port. Guſtavus formed the bold reſolution of going to burn the hoſtile ſhips. His ſoldiers marched over the ice, graſping their ſwords in one hand, and torches in the other. They attempted to ſcale the veſſels. The artillery thundered againſt the aſſailants; and its lightnings, combined with the glare of the flambeaux, preſented a ſpectacle truly terrific. In ſpite of the defenſive efforts of the Danes, ſeveral of their veſſels were ſet on fire. The cracklings of the ice giving way under the weight, the groans of the wounded, the ſhrieks of thoſe who lay periſhing in the flames, and the darkneſs of that tremendous night, ſtruck terror into the ſouls of the Danes. They however reſcued the greater number of their ſhips from the conflagration: but they would not have ſaved a ſingle one, if an intervening thaw had not prevented a ſecond attack which Guſtavus intended

to make on the morrow. This victory, gained in the ſight of the capital, determined even the moſt lukewarm of his countrymen in his favour. In a diet which was aſſembled to deliberate whether the nation ſhould chooſe a king, the people, in ſpite of the ſenators who called for a regent, inſiſted on the election of a monarch, determined that Guſtavus ſhould be the ſovereign of their choice; and accordingly he received the regal diadem.

Guſtavus Vaſa, A.D. 1523.

Since the union of Calmar, the war with the Danes had been inceſſant, and even carried on with barbarous cruelty. In thoſe times of frantic exceſs, it was often forbidden to make any priſoners. The combatants butchered each other without mercy: the towns were diſmantled, the open country laid waſte, the villages conſumed to aſhes. Sweden every-where preſented a ſpectacle of horror; and all theſe barbarities were committed for the purpoſe of determining to whom obedience ſhould be paid. The concentration of all the ſuffrages in the perſon of Guſtavus put a final period to thoſe ſanguinary conteſts: but others aroſe on the ſubject of religion.

Guſtavus had ſometimes been oppoſed by the clerical body: wherefore policy ſuggeſted to him the advantage of introducing Lutheraniſm into his dominions. No prince ever diſplayed greater prudence in a revolution of that kind—elſewhere frequently productive of violent convulſions. He

ſubmitted to the taſk—a taſk of weariſome drudgery to a warrior—of ſtudying theology, aſſiſting at the diſputes of the oppoſite teachers, entering into the minutiæ of religious worſhip, detecting the intrigues, at one time of avarice, at another of perſecuting or perſecuted zeal. He at length accompliſhed the deſired object, but not without trouble, and—in ſpite of his wiſe precautions—not without conſiderable uneaſineſs to himſelf and others. Happy thoſe who afterward reap the bleſſings of a revolution, when it is productive of any! but unhappy they who experience its effects in its progreſs!

Notwithſtanding the innovation he had made in the national worſhip, and although he had not even left the clerical poſſeſſions untouched, Guſtavus continued to enjoy the undiminiſhed affection and eſteem of his ſubjects. He had a taſte for the ſciences, a well-informed mind, and united in his perſon the valour of a ſoldier, the ability of a general, and the talents of a ſtateſman. His external appearance was graceful, his air noble and majeſtic. His eloquence, which had been very ſerviceable in the days of his misfortune, proved alſo uſeful in the ſeaſon of his proſperity. Guſtavus received the plebeians with affability, the nobles with reſpectful attention, the votaries of ſcience with a grace which concealed from their view the protector, and ſuffered them only to perceive in him the friend. He inſenſibly mollified

the fierce manners of his compatriots. The nobles, who before had been accuſtomed to live at their country-ſeats in the enjoyment of a proud and dangerous independency, he allured to court, and attached to him by the ties of employments and pleaſures. Juſtice was ſtrictly adminiſtered, and the arts and commerce flouriſhed, under his reign.

So many ſervices were not loſt upon a nation endued with ſenſibility and gratitude. The ſtates, aſſembled in diet, acknowledged as his ſucceſſor his ſon Eric who was only eleven years old, and declared the crown hereditary in the family of Guſtavus. To his other ſons, John, Magnus, and Charles, he gave apanages of conſiderable value in point of income, but ſubject to the performance of homage to their brother, and un-accompanied by any of the rights of ſovereignty. A gentle death cloſed his eyes in the midſt of his domeſtic circle, in the ſeventieth year of his age. His ſubjects regretted him, as children lament the loſs of a beloved parent.

Eric XIV, A.D. 1560.

In departing from life, he felt anxiety reſpecting his ſucceſſor. Eric had received an excellent education: he was eloquent in his native language, ſpoke various other tongues, was at once graceful and majeſtic in his perſon, ſhowed animation in all his actions, but ſuffered himſelf to be hurried away by the impetuoſity of his paſſions, and was ſometimes fired to ſuch violent exceſs of heat

that he became furious, and ſeemed bereft of reaſon. His father, who had witneſſed theſe fits of rage, had formed the deſign of bequeathing the crown to his ſecond ſon, and was diverted from his purpoſe by no other conſideration than the fear of a civil war. That meaſure, however, if it had been adopted, would have prevented many misfortunes. What the indulgence of his father conſidered as only a temporary derangement of intellect, muſt, by thoſe who ſurvey the actions of Eric, be deemed a habitual madneſs—a madneſs accompanied by preſumption, cruelty, perfidy, and degrading amours. There was no ſpecies of folly or error, of which he was not guilty: but, as he teſtified ſorrow for his behaviour, we may pardon him his great exceſſes, and ſuppoſe that he was inſtigated to them by the pernicious counſels of his infamous favourites. He paid dearly, however, for his miſconduct.

Guſtavus had ſought the hand of Elizabeth queen of England for his ſon Eric. The young monarch, impatient of her delay to anſwer his propoſals, and thinking that his preſence might haſten her determination, equipped a fleet diſplaying both ſtrength and galantry, loaded it with preſents, and ſet ſail for England. But a furious ſtorm diſperſed his veſſels, and drove him back to his own coaſts, where he ſuffered ſhipwreck. The ſame wind which cauſed that diſaſter, blew away his paſſion: he then fixed upon Mary Stuart

queen of Scotland, as the object of his wiſhes—again turned his thoughts to Elizabeth—carried on at the ſame time a negotiation to obtain a niece of the emperor—addreſſed his amorous homage to the daughter of the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel—ſent a dozen ſhips of war to meet her, before he was ſure of her conſent—and finally concluded by marrying a ſimple peaſant-girl named Catharine. Her beauty having ſtruck him while ſhe was yet a child, he had beſtowed on her a ſuperior education, perhaps without any intention of making her a partner of his throne, though ſhe afterward raiſed herſelf to it by her addreſs. Duke John, brother to the king, and more prudent and politic than he, obtained the hand of Catharine, daughter of Sigiſmund king of Poland, whoſe protection might prove to him a uſeful reſource in the difficult circumſtances which he anticipated from the wild irregularities of his brother.

In effect, whether of his own motion or at the ſuggeſtion of evil counſellors, he conceived a furious jealouſy againſt duke John, whom, under a moſt futile pretext, he cauſed to be immured in the citadel of Stockholm. The ducheſs voluntarily ſhared the captivity of her huſband, and the anxieties which he experienced during four years of confinement. Previouſly to his entrance into the priſon, that prince had been condemned to death by the weakneſs of the ſtates, who were unable to reſiſt the commands of their tyrant; ſo that his

life momentarily depended on the caprice of a man whoſe reaſon was frequently alienated, and who was ſurrounded by perfidious adviſers. It is ſaid that Eric ſeveral times went to the citadel with the intention of depriving his brother of life, but that, immediately on ſeeing him, he felt his heart moved with pity. In theſe moments of returning reaſon, he acknowledged to him, with tears in his eyes, the ſanguinary deſign which had prompted his viſit, adding, "I know that the crown of "Sweden is deſtined for you; and I requeſt, "that, when you become poſſeſſed of it, you may "pardon my faults." This preſentiment entertained by Eric was not fulfilled ſufficiently ſoon for his credit: the delay afforded him an opportunity of ſullying himſelf with crimes which have rendered his memory deteſtable.

The baſe inſinuations of malevolence had inſpired him with a mortal hatred to the Stures, an illuſtrious family deſcended from the ancient regents. Stimulated by an infamous favourite named Peerſon, he demanded of the ſenate—whom we indignantly ſee on every occaſion acting as the vile flatterers of the tyrant's paſſions—a ſentence of death againſt thoſe unfortunate men, together with twenty-ſix nobles, the pretended accomplices of a conſpiracy laid to their charge. One of the Stures was an object of peculiar hatred to the king, who fancied him to be viewed with too favourable an eye by the queen Catharine. Eric

perſonally went to the priſon where the youth was confined, ſtabbed him with a poignard, and left the weapon ſticking in the wound. The unfortunate victim drew the dagger from his ſide, kiſſed it, and preſented it to the king. Unmoved by this affecting behaviour, the royal ruffian ordered his guards to diſpatch him. This was the firſt act of the maſſacre projected by the dark villany of Peerſon. The condemned individuals were all executed.

No ſooner was this judicial murder committed, than Eric, as if purſued by the avenging Furies, fled to the foreſts, and there, clad in peaſant's garb, led during ſeveral months a ſavage life: nor did he return to his palace 'till urged by the preſſing entreaties of his wife Catharine. He then aſſumed a quite different character: he never appeared otherwiſe than magnificently dreſt; he laviſhed gold and ſilver on the relatives of thoſe whom he had cauſed to be maſſacred, threw the whole blame of the crime on Peerſon, and delivered him into the hands of the executioners. The more effectually to obliterate the impreſſions made by his paſt conduct, he reſtored to liberty his brother John and his wife.

But he ſtill harboured a ſecret diſtruſt of the alliance which John had contracted with Poland by his marriage. Eric therefore conceived the project of ſecuring a counter-alliance with Ruſſia. The czar had formerly entertained a paſſion for

the Poliſh princeſs, who was ſince become the wife of John: he had unſucceſsfully ſolicited her hand in marriage, and foſtered a lively reſentment of her refuſal. Both equally void of delicacy, the Ruſſian ſtipulated that the princeſs ſhould be delivered into his hands, and the Swediſh king promiſed to comply with his deſire. A ſhort time before the day intended for the execution of the plot, it was diſcovered. Duke John immediately quitted the court with his whole family, accompanied likewiſe by his brother, duke Charles, who had conſtantly remained attached to him, even during his captivity. Magnus was no longer in exiſtence—having, it is ſaid, fallen a victim to his chagrin for having ſigned the ſentence which condemned his brother John to loſe his life.

The fugitives raiſed the ſtandard of oppoſition againſt Eric. The black criminality of his laſt project, and the horror which it excited, gained a crowd of partiſans for the dukes. They beſieged their brother in Stockholm: the gates of that city were opened to them during the night; and Eric, on the point of making his eſcape, fell into their hands. They delivered him into the cuſtody of the relatives of the Stures, as perſons the moſt intereſted in ſafely guarding him. The ſenate, equally unfaithful to Eric in his diſgrace as they had been baſely ſubſervient to him in his proſperity, abſolved themſelves from their oaths of allegiance. The aſſembled ſtates imitated their ex-

ample; and duke John was, by their unanimous ſuffrage, declared king of Sweden.—Notwithſtanding his cataſtrophe, the reign of Eric was not inglorious. He poſſeſſed perſonal bravery; and, under his conduct, the Swediſh troops repeatedly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in combating the Danes. We have reaſon to preſume that he would not have ſubmitted to the hard conditions which the latter impoſed on his ſucceſſor.

John III, A.D. 1568. John, it is true, was placed in critical circumſtances. He ſaw himſelf obliged to contend at once with the Danes who were the natural enemies of Sweden, and with the Ruſſians, whoſe czar, irritated by the failure of his plot, offered him premeditated inſults. Elizabeth, too, not forgetting that Eric had formerly paid his addreſſes to her, teſtified ſome pity of his fallen ſtate: the proteſtant powers of Germany, diſguſted by John's too ſtrongly marked predilection for the Romiſh religion, threatened him with a rupture: finally, even his brother Charles, who had evinced a conſtant attachment to him during his confinement, now ſhowed ſomething worſe than indifference, although the king had favoured him with the grant of a conſiderable apanage, on which he lived as a ſovereign. John increaſed his various difficulties by declaring himſelf in the moſt explicit manner in favour of popery, at the inſtigation of the princeſs of Poland, his wife. He however appeaſed the czar by relinquiſhing to him ſome provinces:

he ſatisfied Denmark by renouncing all pretenſions to Norway. Thus Sweden ſuffered material diſmemberments.

Eric alſo, though a priſoner, was a ſubject of diſquietude to his brother. That unfortunate prince was brought forward in the open diet, to undergo the diſgrace of a public accuſation and depoſition. He diſplayed on that occaſion greater firmneſs than had been expected, and even excited ſentiments of compaſſion in the boſoms of a part of that numerous aſſembly. John had the cruelty to let him remain in the hands of the Sture family, who treated him with inhumanity, which they carried ſo far as to ſtrike him, and to make him ſuffer hunger and cold. At length, as his detention became a ſource of embarraſſment during the efforts made by the king to alter the religion of his kingdom, he cauſed the wretched captive to be poiſoned. That criminal deed marks a gloomy character, a fanatic perſuaſion that the intereſt of religion gives a ſanction to any thing: and truly John was a warm devotioniſt. It will appear that Charles entertained the ſame opinion reſpecting the ſanguinary liberties authoriſed by political conſiderations. Indeed none of the ſons of the great Guſtavus Vaſa inherited the frank and generous virtues of their ſire.

For the ſubverſion of the proteſtant religion, John adopted the ſame ſyſtem which his father had purſued for the extirpation of popery—ex-

hortations, conferences, diſcuſſions: but, in addition to thoſe means uſed by Guſtavus, he employed the aid of violence and perſecution. Thus he confirmed in the Romiſh faith thoſe who wavered, and brought back others to their former tenets. Thus he in ſome meaſure eſtabliſhed an equilibrium between the two religions: but he thought that he was ſecuring a certain preponderancy for the ancient mode of worſhip by educating his ſon Sigiſmund in the principles of catholiciſm. This outrageous zeal excited diſſenſion between the king and his brother: or rather we cannot doubt that Charles, diſſimulant and ambitious, was internally delighted to ſee his brother thus adopt meaſures of extremity, whence diſturbances were likely to reſult, of which he might take advantage. In effect he openly declared himſelf a protector of proteſtantiſm, afforded a ſhelter in his petty dominions to all thoſe who were obliged to flee from the violence of his brother's inordinate zeal, took the liberty of ſending to him remonſtrances and threats, and even procuring addreſſes to him in a ſimilar tone from the aſſembly of the ſtates, chiefly on the ſubject of the popiſh education which he had given to his ſon Sigiſmund.

That prince was become king of Poland after a conteſted election which had been decided by the forces of Sweden. His uncle Charles had ſeconded the king's application to the ſtates to obtain that aſſiſtance for his nephew. We may, without

danger of mis-judging, conjecture that the crafty Charles was pleaſed to ſee Sigiſmund take upon him a crown which the difference of religion rendered incompatible with that which he expected to inherit from his father. He knew that the one muſt neceſſarily prove detrimental to the other; and he did not deſpair of ſeeing ſome events ariſe, which he might turn to his own advantage. In effect, even during the life of John, ſome diſcuſſions took place in the ſenate reſpecting the latitude which ſhould be allowed to the prince in the external practice of the Romiſh religion. Charles was diſcovered to have had an agency in the diſputes on that ſubject; and it appears that his interference was not of a conciliatory tendency. The deciſion however was poſtponed to the time when Sigiſmund ſhould inherit the Swediſh ſceptre.—John died ſuddenly, more eſteemed than beloved. He was moſt ſtubbornly tenacious of his reſolutions; his obſtinacy never yielding except to that of his wife, who inflamed him with very warm zeal for an expiring religion. He reſtored to popery a tranſient animation, but did not conduct it to a perfect reſurrection.

Sigiſmund, A.D. 1592.

At the time of John's death, Sigiſmund was in Poland. It was with difficulty that he obtained permiſſion from the Poles to return to Sweden. During an interval of ſome months the kingdom was governed in his name by the duke Charles, who ſuffered the ſenate to aſſume an enlarged au-

thority, assembled a diet, and so effectually conducted matters, that his nephew, on his arrival, found the resolution already formed of straitening the Romish worship within very narrow bounds, of restricting himself in the public exercise of his religion, and in the number of priests and prelates whom he should be allowed to retain about his person. His uncle having undertaken the task of engaging him to give satisfaction to the states on that head, a violent altercation took place between them. Sigismund, however, being in haste to return to Poland, agreed to every thing required: but, indignant that he had been compelled to yield, and that the compulsion had been the effect of Charles's clandestine machinations, he is said to have endeavoured to take him off by assassination. The attempt failed; and, with an inconsistency not uncommon in troublous times, Sigismund, at his departure, confided the regency to the man whom he had been unable to destroy.

The uncle assembled the states, and procured from them decisions little conformable to the views of his nephew. However, as he could not prevail on that assembly to adopt all his ideas, he felt his pride hurt, and declared, that, since they repaid with such ingratitude the pains he had taken in the administration of the kingdom, he renounced the task. The king availed himself of this pique, and placed the management of the government in the hands of the senate. An open

rupture now took place between the uncle and the nephew. Sigiſmund returned to his Swediſh realm at the head of an army of Germans and Poles, and reduced Charles to ſubmiſſion. After this victory, he returned to Poland. In his abſence, Charles contrived by his intrigues to have a new meeting of the ſtates convoked, in which he aſſumed a marked aſcendency. The variable conduct of Sigiſmund, his long abſences from his paternal dominions, and more eſpecially his obſtinacy in refuſing to ſubmit to the propoſed reſtrictions on the exerciſe of his religion, induced the aſſembly to proceed againſt him to extremes. They ſolemnly depoſed him, declared both himſelf and his ſon Uladiſlaus for-ever incapable of wearing the Swediſh diadem, and conferred it on Charles and his poſterity.

Charles diſplayed conſiderable addreſs and policy in the revolution which raiſed him to the throne. In public, his conduct was frank, ingenuous, moderate: in private, he fomented diſcord between the diet and the king, and adopted, for the gratification of his ambitious deſires, every poſſible mean which could be employed without expoſing his character to obloquy. In a word, he ſo inflamed the public mind, that his election ſeemed to be the natural reſult of neceſſity ariſing from the mal-adminiſtration of his nephew. The ſtates ordained, that, in caſe of the failure of his male iſſue, the crown ſhould revert to the poſterity Charles IX A.D. 1604.

of John, and next to the heirs of the daughters of the great Guſtavus, who were married in Germany. They alſo decreed that no hereditary prince of Sweden ſhould thenceforward be allowed to accept a foreign crown, no Swediſh king to take a wife except from a proteſtant family. In addition to theſe regulations, they likewiſe paſſed all the rigorous laws uſual in revolutions—an engagement by oath to ſupport the new order of things, and a proſcription of all who ſhould oppoſe it. Popery became an object of ſuſpicion: thoſe who profeſſed it were laid under ſevere reſtraints; and the Lutherans obtained a complete triumph.

Sigiſmund made but a ſlight effort to recover his loſt diadem. It was a fortunate circumſtance for Charles that his nephew, diverted by other cares, did not purſue his firſt ſucceſs. The new monarch, though poſſeſſed of abilities in the cabinet, and endued with perſonal valour, was nevertheleſs unfortunate in the field. Enfeebled moreover by an attack of apoplexy, he at an early period intruſted the management of his military concerns to his ſon Guſtavus Adolphus, and contented himſelf with ſetting him the example of a domeſtic adminiſtration as juſt as it can poſſibly be under a king who thinks it his duty to offer violence to the conſciences of his ſubjects. Charles is praiſed for punctual fidelity in the obſervance of his promiſes: but he derived no title to that commendation for his conduct toward his brother

John or his nephew Sigiſmund. He was ſevere in the puniſhment of crimes, liberal in rewarding merit, and in encouraging the arts, ſciences, commerce, and agriculture. His temper was marked with iraſcibility and violence; but the tranſports of his anger were of ſhort duration.

A youthful hero, whoſe diademed brow is already encircled with the laurel of victory before the twelfth year of his age, affords juſt cauſe of admiration. But the wonder is increaſed when we ſee a ſage ſenate confide the ſupreme authority to the ſon of Charles at that age: and our aſtoniſhment is raiſed to the utmoſt height, on learning that the young monarch ſways the reins of government with a ſkill and prudence worthy of the maturity of age. Guſtavus, it is true, was fortunate in having good counſellors: yet it is at all times great merit in a king to liſten to ſuch adviſers, and to be able to retain them in his ſervice, in ſpite of the cabals of intriguing courtiers. Guſtavus Adolphus, A.D. 1611.

Among the number of thoſe valuable men is reckoned a brother of Sigiſmund, Adolphus's couſin-german, who poſſeſſed ſome claims to the throne, but ſacrificed them to the pleaſing hopes with which the great qualities of Guſtavus inſpired him for the good of his country. Another counſellor, whoſe name ſhines enrolled in the catalogue of great men, was the celebrated chancellor Oxenſtiern, who, to the manners of a ſtoïc, added ſuperior abilities in ſtate-affairs, remarkable rectitude

and probity, keen philoſophic penetration, with a taſte for and a practical knowledge of the ſciences. Aided moreover by other enlightened and prudent men, the young monarch benefited his kingdom by the happy changes which he effected in the departments of finance and juſtice. With reſpect to the martial operations, he took on himſelf the charge of them, and proſecuted the war againſt Denmark with ſuch ſucceſs as to procure an advantageous peace. He was equally fortunate in his conteſt with the Ruſſians; but the hoſtilities with his couſin Sigiſmund were of longer duration, and were productive of events by which Guſtavus gained a conſpicuous rank among the moſt diſtinguiſhed warriors.

The king of Poland could not forget the Swediſh crown, which nature had placed on his head, but of which the impolitic conduct of his father, together with his own faults, had deprived him. He planned for Guſtavus, whom he termed a uſurper, a treacherous ſnare, which the latter judiciouſly eluded. Diſappointed in that ſcheme, he next attacked him by open force, but with equally bad ſucceſs. Although no deciſive victories were gained, the advantage may be ſaid to have reſted on the ſide of Guſtavus, ſince he retained poſſeſſion of his crown. The ſtate of conſtant warfare in which he was engaged during a ſeries of years afforded him opportunities of martialiſing the Swedes, of forming thoſe intrepid commanders

and thoſe formidable batallions which long kept Europe in ſuſpenſe, and balanced the fate of ſovereigns.

Sigiſmund was ſupported by the papiſts of Germany, and eſpecially by the houſe of Auſtria, who, ſeated on the imperial throne, put into motion that vaſt body accuſtomed to obey her impulſes, and threatened to make it fall with its collective weight upon Sweden. Guſtavus did not tamely await the tremendous ſhock, but, with the impetuoſity of a thunder-bolt, burſt into Germany in 1631. The ſtates of Sweden wiſhing to divert him from that invaſion of which they dreaded the conſequences, "The papiſts," replied the monarch, "whom I am preparing to attack, are rich "and effeminate: my ſoldiers are endued with "courage: my generals poſſeſs abilities: they "will diſplay my banners in the enemy's country, "and compel him to pay our troops."

His army conſiſted of ſixty thouſand combatants, the beſt ſoldiers in the univerſe, and warm with ſentiments of eſteem for their chief. His generals —men of approved talents—had by his generoſity been attracted from all countries to join his ſtandards: but, on the other hand, he was oppoſed by illuſtrious captains, Walſtein, Manſveldt, Tilli, names celebrated in the annals of Mars. Guſtavus ſwept every thing before him like a torrent. He forced the elector of Brandenburg to unite his troops with the Swediſh batallions, and invaded

the territories of the Saxon, who wiſhed to remain neuter. The forces of the empire awaited him on the plains of Leipſick: he gave them battle, put them to flight, penetrated into Bavâria, levied contributions on the opulent diſtricts of Germany, and placed his troops in good quarters. But he had ſo perfectly inured his ſoldiers to fatigues and military labours, that, far from deſiring the repoſe which is to be enjoyed in towns, they diſdained even that which camps afford.

The events of war conducted back Guſtavus, ſtill victorious, to the field of Lutzen near Leipſick. The fate of Europe lay now at ſtake, defended, as before, by ſelect troops and choſen generals. The Swediſh infantry ruſhed with impetuoſity againſt the imperialiſts, broke their line, ſeiſed their artillery. The enemy were fled: the field reſounded with ſhouts of victory: the king was called, was ſought, was found ſtretched among the ſlain. As this diſaſtrous event proved highly advantageous to the houſe of Auſtria, it was reported, but without proof, that they had procured it by employing an aſſaſſin. The emperor was by this time completely cured of that preſumption which had prompted him to ſay, when Guſtavus marched forth from the icy tracts of Sweden, "He is a king of ſnow, who will melt away in the "warmer climates."

Chriſtina, A.D. 1633. Guſtavus's triumphant bands ſupported their reputation under the conduct of Horn, Banier,

Weimar, Torſtenſon, all generals worthy to lead againſt the enemy the ſoldiers of the defunct hero. In the German war, during ſeveral years, thoſe batallions were invited by ſeveral princes, who were ſure of fixing victory on their ſide when they could unite with their own banners the Swediſh ſtandards. Many of thoſe formidable corps inſenſibly waſted away, being worn out by their own exploits. Such of them as returned to their native country carried back to it the military ſpirit and the ardent love of glory with which Guſtavus had fired them, and which they tranſmitted to their deſcendents. That hereditary valour, called forth into action by one of his ſucceſſors, hurled a king of Poland from his throne, and cauſed a Ruſſian czar to totter on his imperial ſeat.

In conſequence of the foreign war which engroſſed the public attention, the Swediſh realm enjoyed tranquillity during the minority of Chriſtina, who was not more than five years old when ſhe ſucceeded her father Guſtavus. The abilities of Oxenſtiern, by proſecuting her father's plans, preſerved for the daughter that preponderancy which the cabinet of Sweden poſſeſſed in the affairs of Germany. At an early age, that princeſs diſplayed eſtimable qualities, which however were mingled with ſome portion of capricious ſingularity. She was aſhamed of her ſex, and regretted that ſhe was a woman. She aſpired to the glory

which beſeems a queen—that ariſing from a taſte for the arts and ſciences, and from her protection and patronage of learned men, whom ſhe collected around her: but, in the ſocial intercourſe of life, ſhe ſhowed neither grace nor affability. The manly energy of her ſoul was too ſtrongly expreſſed in her countenance and her actions. Chriſtina poſſeſſed a great fund of ſound ſenſe and a ſolid judgement, which enabled her to ſway the reins of empire with the approbation and eſteem of foreigners as well as the applauſes of her own ſubjects, until the moment when ſhe abdicated the ſovereignty.

When firſt ſhe teſtified her inclination to take that ſtep, ſhe had already attained her twenty-ſecond year. People were aſtoniſhed to ſee that the idea of marriage inſpired her with no other ſentiments than thoſe of diſguſt. She candidly told her reaſon to the ſenate: it was, that the conjugal ſtate impoſed certain duties to which ſhe felt a repugnance. Did ſhe mean thoſe condeſcenſions which lead to maternity, or the ſubjection to the will of a huſband? On that ſubject ſhe did not explain herſelf; and her ſecret remained buried in her own boſom. But, while determined not to ſhare her authority with a partner, ſhe conceived it her duty not to entail on Sweden the gloomy proſpect of wars and diſturbances after her deceaſe. Accordingly, with the conſent of the ſtates, in the year 1650, ſhe nominated a ſuc-

ceſſor to her crown; and her choice fell on her couſin Charles-Guſtavus, count palatine.

That meaſure was viewed in the light of a deſign to make trial of the prince's character before ſhe ſhould give him her hand, eſpecially as ſhe ſeemed to entertain for him ſomething more than eſteem. Charles, on his part, obſerved toward her a conduct calculated to baniſh all uneaſineſs from even the moſt jealous mind. He paid his court to her like a man more anxious to enjoy his couſin's affection than deſirous of obtaining her rank, and never meddled in ſtate-affairs, except when invited and almoſt forced to do it. Nevertheleſs—whether through averſion to buſineſs, diſguſt of government, or a wiſh to immortaliſe her name by an almoſt un-exampled ſingularity—at the age of twenty-eight years, a period of life when ambition is uſually ſtrongeſt, Chriſtina aſſembled the ſtates, mounted the throne, and called her couſin to aſcend it. After an eloquent diſcourſe which ſhe pronounced without emotion, ſhe deſcended from the royal ſeat, ſurrendered to him her ſceptre, and mingled herſelf for-ever with the crowd of ſubjects.

She did not appear to repent of her abdication during the life of her couſin. Notwithſtanding the public diſtreſſes of the kingdom, he took great care to pay her penſion regularly, and to fulfill all his engagements to her. His ſucceſſor was not equally punctual: whence it is not ſurpriſing that

ſhe liſtened to the complaints of ſome mal-contents, and, at their ſolicitation, teſtified a wiſh to re-aſcend her throne. But that wiſh did not proceed farther than the ſimple act of volition, unattended by any efforts or any conſequences. Chriſtina had retired to Rome, the centre of the ſciences and arts, which were the darling objects of her predominant paſſion. She there embraced the Romiſh religion; on account of which change, her character has been attacked by proteſtant writers, in more ways than one.

Unfortunately ſhe furniſhed matter for ſlander or calumny. She conceived an inclination to ſee France, and to ſhow herſelf there. The French, and particularly the women, who are quick to obſerve ridiculous foibles, or to beſtow the name on whatever is not conformable to their own uſages, ſaw nothing in that northern queen but a too great freedom of manner, a maſculine ſtyle of converſation, an affected neglect of her perſon at the expenſe of decent cleanlineſs, a rough and ſavage genius void of all delicacy. Chriſtina repaid the compliment by taxing them with ignorance, frivolity, an inordinate paſſion for dreſs and pleaſures.

She might have come off with advantage from that ſpecies of conteſt, with the reputation indeed of a ſingular but eſtimable character, if ſhe had not afforded proofs, that, notwithſtanding her philoſophy and her apparent indifference to pleaſure, ſhe was perhaps too much under the control

of her paſſions. She had an attendant in her train, named Monadelſchi, a handſome man, in the bloom of health, and who enjoyed great favour with her. For ſome reaſon which has never come to the knowledge of the world, ſhe cauſed him to be called into a gallery of the caſtle of Fontainebleau where ſhe reſided. Letters were preſented to him, at ſight of which he turned pale, and, ſeeing naked ſwords aimed at his breaſt, entreated for mercy. He was told that he muſt die. Chriſtina, from an adjoining apartment, gave orders that her agents ſhould wound him for the purpoſe of extorting a confeſſion. He crept bleeding toward the door whence that cruel command had iſſued: ſhe cried out to them to diſpatch him; and he was inſtantly murdered. That deed was ſuppoſed to be the vengeance of an infidelity, or of the revelation of a ſecret. The court of France ſent to Chriſtina an order to quit the kingdom. She returned to Rome, where ſhe died, little eſteemed, in 1689.

The reign of Charles-Guſtavus was entirely of a military complexion. By the event of the wars between him and Caſimir the ſon of that Sigiſmund who had fallen from the Swediſh throne, he ſaw himſelf maſter of that of Poland, and on the eve of entering the capital of Denmark. But that city was reſcued from the impending danger. The houſe of Auſtria ſtirred up againſt him entire Germany. He ſucceſsfully withſtood her ef- Charles-Guſtavus, A.D. 1654.

forts, and ably extricated himſelf from all the embarraſſments which were thrown in his way. Charles-Guſtavus was brave, bold, inacceſſible to fear, attentive, and excellently qualified to ſuſtain the attacks of his confederate enemies. At the moment when, after a glorious defence, he was ready to carry the war into the heart of their territories, he was ſnatched away by an epidemic diſeaſe, leaving for his ſucceſſor a ſon yet in the years of childhood.

Charles XI, A.D. 1660. The minority of Charles XI, during which it was neceſſary to ſuſpend all military projects, afforded to Sweden a temporary repoſe, which however continued only till he had attained ſufficient age to tread in the footſteps of his father. He invaded Brandenburg, and recommenced with Denmark a war which proved equally ruinous to both kingdoms. It was terminated by a peace which left Charles at leiſure to turn his attention to the internal government of his realm. He promulgated laws of juſtice and police, regulated the finances, declared Lutheraniſm the national religion, prohibited the exerciſe of every other, allowing however a ſecret toleration to the Calviniſts and other reformed ſects.

Charles took advantage of a diſcuſſion which he either promoted or excited between the ſtates and the ſenate, to enlarge the royal prerogative. The ſenators pretended to the right of acting as mediators between the king and the people, intruſted

with the charge of reminding both parties of their reciprocal duties, and enforcing the mutual performance of them. This was claiming a great power. But Charles had the art to perſuade the ſtates that it was contrary to the rights of the people whom they repreſented. The queſtion was very warmly debated in that aſſembly, who adopted a deciſion ſuggeſted by the king, that the monarch ſhould govern with the advice of the ſenate, but that to him alone ſhould belong the right of judging whether any meaſure were to be communicated to that body, and he alſo ſhould alone poſſeſs a power to make alterations in the conſtitution. Thus the government of Sweden became deſpotic. —Charles died with the reputation of a very ſkilful prince. He left to his ſon his kingdom independent, and his army and fleet on a reſpectable footing. That ſon was Charles XII.

What our fathers have ſeen, what they have related to us concerning this prince, renders probable, even to perſons of little credulity, the accounts which hiſtory has tranſmitted of thoſe deſtructive heroes who inſpired the multitude with their own paſſions, and hurried them on, blinded by the fanaticiſm of glory, to ſuch exceſſes as entail miſery on mankind, and involve nations in ruin. The predominant feature in the character of Charles XII was obſtinacy. He was only fifteen years old when he aſcended the throne, and was not, by the laws of the kingdom, entitled to Charles XII, A.D. 1697.

hold the reins of government until he had attained the age of eighteen: but he almoſt immediately emancipated himſelf from the tutelage of his grand-mother, placed himſelf at the head of affairs, and diſplayed in his whole conduct a firmneſs and reſolution which invariably attached to him his miniſters and generals.

On the hope excited by the inexperience of ſo young a prince, the kings of Poland and Denmark, and the czar, had formed a confederacy with the intention of wreſting from him various provinces which their reſpective ſtates had been compelled to cede to his father and grand-father. Denmark was the firſt to commence hoſtilities. Thus provoked, Charles drew his ſword, never more to return it to the ſcabbard: he quitted his capital, never again to reviſit it: he embarked, arrived at Copenhagen, ſurpriſed the Dane who had not expected that ſudden expedition, forced him to ſue for peace, and ſafely regained his own dominions, after having, at the age of eighteen years, rendered himſelf the terror and admiration of Europe.

From that moment the entire Swediſh nation, after the example of their youthful monarch, were ſeiſed with an enthuſiaſm which allowed no time for reflexion. Taxes were neceſſary for the ſupport of the war: they were anticipated; they were conſidered as an honorary tribute. Every family wiſhed to furniſh a ſoldier. He habituated his troops to forget the difference of ſeaſons, and the

wants of nature. Bread, water, and arms, were all that a Swediſh ſoldier required. He accuſtomed them as it were to ſport with danger. A horſe being killed under him, he mounted another, whoſe head was immediately carried off by a cannon-ball. In leaping on a third, "Thoſe fellows," ſaid he jocularly, "ſeem determined to make me "begin my exerciſes anew."

Charles felt that aſſurance which inſpires confidence and is productive of ſucceſs. While marching toward Ruſſia after having laid Denmark in chains, repreſentation was made to him that the number of the enemy's troops ſurpaſſed that of his own army to an alarming degree of diſparity. "What!" he replied—"Do you doubt that the "king of Sweden, with eight thouſand men, can "beat the czar of Ruſſia with his eighty thou- "ſand?" In effect, he required no more than thoſe eight thouſand to defeat the hoſtile army before Narva, and compel them to lay down their arms. It was on this occaſion that the czar Peter —that aſtoniſhing man, who, himſelf a barbarian, civiliſed a nation of ſavages—was heard to ſay, "I hope that my brother Charles, by dint of "beating us, will at length teach us to beat "him."

The Swediſh monarch's intention was to drive back the Ruſſians into their native deſerts, and to intercept the ſuccours from Poland, whence the czar procured ſoldiers who diſciplined his. The

expedient which he thought moſt effectual to accompliſh that object was to attack Poland itſelf. Previous to the battle of Narva, he wrote to the commandant of a town on the road which he was to purſue in his march to that kingdom—"I "am going to beat the Ruſſians. Prepare maga- "zines for me in your town. I ſhall paſs through "it to beat the Poles and the Saxons."

The Poliſh throne was at this time occupied by Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, who had leagued himſelf with the czar in the intention of making uſe of the Ruſſian forces to enſlave Poland, where his authority, founded on an election, did not appear to him ſo abſolute as he wiſhed. This alliance involved him in hoſtilities with the young king of Sweden, who was offended by his provocations. Diſturbances exiſted in Poland; and Charles ſo ſucceſsfully gained over the mal-contents, that he found a party ready to ſecond him when he invaded the kingdom. That faction facilitated to him the capture of Warſaw, which the Swediſh hero entered as a conqueror. Auguſtus fled to Saxony. Charles allowed him no reſpite, until he had compelled him to ſign his abdication of the diadem. A diet was held for the choice of a ſucceſſor. The victor, who could have obtained the ſuffrages in his own favour, declared that he formed no pretenſions to the throne, and procured the election of a Poliſh noble named Staniſlaus.

A few days after the reſignation of Auguſtus, Charles happening to paſs within four leagues of Dreſden where the depoſed monarch reſided, ſuddenly quitted his army, and, accompanied only by five officers, rode to the caſtle, as if there had exiſted between him and the Saxon nothing more than a ſlight conteſt, amicably terminated to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties. He penetrated to the elector's apartment, familiarly converſed with him, ate and drank with unconcern, and then quietly took his leave. "You will find," ſaid he, as he galloped off at full ſpeed with his five attendants—"you will find that they are "now deliberating on what they ought to have "done."

The prediction, uttered by the czar after the battle of Narva, was verified at Pultowa. Charles, being obliged to fight at the head of an army worn down with fatigue and continually haraſſed by the Ruſſians during a tedious march, was totally defeated. He diſplayed in the combat all that courage and ability which ever characteriſed his military operations. As he had been wounded in a preceding engagement, he was carried about in a litter to iſſue his orders. Twice the litter was overturned, and the ſecond time broken, by the enemy's cannon. When his troops were completely routed, he was with difficulty placed on horſeback. Five hundred horſemen rallied around him, and ſerved him as an eſcort to the neareſt

town in the Turkiſh territory, which was thirty leagues diſtant.

All the reſt of the Swediſh army were killed or taken priſoners. The czar ſent many of thoſe captives to Siberia and other remote regions. Neceſſity calling forth their induſtry, they there exerciſed thoſe arts and trades of which they poſſeſſed any knowledge; and, in that ſituation, all the diſtinctions which fortune places between men were baniſhed. The officer, who happened to be deſtitute of a profeſſion, was obliged to hew and carry wood for the private ſoldier who followed the buſineſs of tailor, carpenter, maſon, jeweler, according to his talents. Others practiſed as painters and architects, eſtabliſhed public ſchools, and became maſters from whom their conquerors received leſſons in the arts. Thus, by the victory at Pultowa, Peter the Great not only laid the foundation of the power and ſecurity of his empire, but alſo enriched it with induſtry and the ſciences, which before were unknown among his ſubjects.

Charles was received with every mark of reſpect in the dominions of the Turkiſh emperor. He fixed his reſidence at Bender, a town of Beſſarabia, not far diſtant from the frontier of Poland. In the midſt of Aſiatic luxury, of which all the indulgences were laviſhed on him, he conſtantly lived like a ſoldier. He was an object of admiration to the Turks, who came in crowds to

ſee a prince ſo celebrated for his victories, ſo equanimous in adverſity, ſo ſingular in his mode of living. The divan offered him money and the means of returning to his own ſtates without moleſtation: he might even have returned without a paſſport, on accepting the offer made to him by France of taking him on ſhip-board in the Mediterranean, whence he would have reached Sweden by the ocean.

But that was not his idea. He had reſolved not to reviſit his own dominions, without going thither at the head of an army: and with that army he expected to be furniſhed by the Ottoman Porte. At one time he had nearly ſucceeded in that project. As he was extremely generous, all the money with which he was ſupplied he laviſhed with unſparing hand on the members of the divan, who were already captivated by the admiration with which he inſpired them. But his reſources were exhauſted. The treaſures of the czar, on the other hand, being increaſed by the ſpoils of Poland and Saxony which he had found at Pultowa, and profuſely diſtributed in the ſeraglio, effected a change in the diſpoſitions of the Turkiſh miniſtry. Nevertheleſs the Swede found means, from his refuge at Bender, to defeat the cabal by which he was oppoſed, and to procure the diſgrace and baniſhment of the grand viſir.

The miniſter who ſucceeded him, having cauſed the chiefs of their religion to examine the propo-

ſitions of Charles againſt the czar, ſaid to the grand ſignor; "The law forbids thee to attack the "czar, who has not offended thee: but it com- "mands thee to ſuccour the king of Sweden, who "is in diſtreſs in thy dominions." In conſe- quence, the Ottoman emperor ſent to his gueſt a very conſiderable ſum of money to defray the ex- penſes of his journey. That preſent was accompa- nied by a letter from the grand viſir, recommend- ing to him in the moſt reſpectful terms to return peaceably to his own ſtates through Germany, where proper meaſures ſhould be taken to inſure his accommodation and perſonal ſafety. This was a reverſion to the old expedient of paſſports, under protection of which he ſhould, in the character of a fugitive, traverſe countries once conquered by his arms—an expedient which he had already rejected. Charles obſtinately adhered to his firſt reſolution of not quitting his preſent ſtation, and of forcing the Porte by his ſtubborn perſeverance to enter into his views.

A change of miniſtry inſpired the Swediſh mo- narch with new hopes. The cabinet of Conſtan- tinople determined on making war againſt the czar, which was proſecuted with ſuch vigor as brought his crown into danger. Reduced on the banks of the Pruth, as Charles had been at Pultowa, to fight under the greateſt diſadvantage, he was reſcued from the imminent danger by the dexterity of Catharine, who was not yet raiſed to

the rank of empreſs, and who gained the grand viſir and his council by rich preſents. The king of Sweden arrived in the Turkiſh camp on the day ſubſequent to the treaty. As he was acquainted with the nature of the ground and the poſition of the two armies, he thought he had nothing more to do than receive the ſurrender of his enemy's ſword if he were yet alive, and that the Ruſſian diadem was thenceforward to be at his diſpoſal.

How great his aſtoniſhment, on learning that his prey had eſcaped him! All the reproachful and opprobrious language that vexation and rage can ſuggeſt againſt a coward and a traitor, was poured out by Charles in a copious torrent on the grand viſir. The miniſter, being convinced that the monarch would leave no mean untried to effect his ruin, took precautions to ſecure himſelf againſt his machinations. He ſurrounded him with ſpies, who intercepted the letters and memorials which the prince addreſſed to the divan and the grand ſignor. Charles, however, contrived to have ſome of them conveyed to their deſtination. The grand viſir, expecting to prevail over him by the preſſure of want, reduced his penſion. The Swede no otherwiſe noticed that reduction than by affecting to launch into greater expenſe. He was urged to depart, and threatened with compulſion: to which menace he replied that he would defend himſelf. The grand ſignor offered him an eſcort of four

thouſand Turks, who, in conſequence of meaſures taken with Poland, ſhould be reſpected on their paſſage. The fugitive ſtill perſevered in his demand of an army.

At length weary of his unavailing attempts, the ſultan aſſembled his divan, and ſaid to them—"I "have ſcarcely known the king of Sweden ex- "cept by his defeat at Pultowa, and by his re- "queſt that I would grant him an aſylum in my "empire. I do not, I believe, ſtand in any need "of his aſſiſtance: and I have no reaſon either to "love or to fear him. Nevertheleſs I have en- "tertained him, and liberally ſhed on him the "dew of my favours. Himſelf, his miniſters, his "officers, his ſoldiers, I have never ceaſed, during "three years and half, to load with preſents. "He aſked money of me to pay his expenſes, al- "though I defray them all: I ſent him more "than he had demanded. I have offered him an "eſcort; but he refuſes to depart, under pre- "tence that it is not ſufficiently numerous. He "requires a whole army. Would it therefore be "a violation of the laws of hoſpitality to ſend that "prince away, and to employ force for that pur- "poſe if it cannot otherwiſe be accompliſhed?"

This ſimple and true ſtatement of facts is ſufficient to condemn Charles. The council unanimouſly determined that compulſory means ſhould be adopted, if neceſſary. The governor of Bender received order to communicate their deciſion

to Charles, and to put it into execution. In return for the gentleneſs and delicacy with which he acquitted himſelf of the former part of his commiſſion, he received this brutal anſwer—"Obey thy maſter, if thou dare; and be gone "from my preſence!"

The houſe inhabited by the king of Sweden, unſurrounded with trenches or ramparts, was immediately inveſted. The cannons were pointed; the mortars were elevated; his guard of honour, conſiſting of janiſſaries, was called away; and he had only three hundred Swedes remaining. The officers threw themſelves on their knees before him, laying bare their breaſts covered with wounds. "I know," ſaid he to them, "that "we have valiantly fought together. You have "hitherto done your duty: do it likewiſe this "day."—His chaplain making remonſtrances, "I "engaged you," replied Charles, "to pray, not to "give me advice."—Himſelf in perſon diſtributed his Swedes, and aſſigned to them their ſeveral poſts. No doubt he felt his pride flattered by the honour of ſuſtaining, with three hundred men, the attack of twenty thouſand Turks.

Before matters were carried to the extreme of violence, ſixty aged janiſſaries, whoſe hoary beards gave them a reſpectable appearance, and who were attached to him by ſentiments of eſteem, preſented themſelves with white ſtaves in their hands, and conjured him to put himſelf under their pro-

tection, promiſing to ſerve him as a guard, and to conduct him with honour and ſafety to the preſence of the grand ſignor, that he might confer with him reſpecting the grievances of which he complained. Charles commanded them to retire, threatening, in caſe of diſobedience, to cut off their beards; which is the greateſt affront that can be offered to a man in the eaſt. He had already threatened the pacha himſelf, that he would order him to be hanged if he repeated his meſſage. The janiſſaries quitted him, exclaiming—"Ah! the "iron-head! ſince he is determined to periſh, let "him periſh!"

The ſignal was given for the aſſault. Charles ordered his men to fire, and himſelf fired without mercy, upon the Turks, who all the while ſought to ſpare him. They nevertheleſs penetrated into the houſe, and purſued him from one apartment to another. To their irruption he oppoſed doors barricaded with furniture. Every thing became a weapon in his hands: he hurled among the beſiegers barrels of gunpowder, covered with lighted matches: but, in retreating to place the laſt door between himſelf and his aſſailants, he entangled his ſpurs, and fell. The Turks ruſhed on him, ſeiſed him by the legs and arms, as a dangerous madman, and carried him to the pacha's quarters. That officer, in obedience to the orders he had received from the divan, ſent Charles to Demotica, a ſmall town at the diſtance of ten

leagues from Adrianople, where the emperor then was with his court.

Scarcely was the Swede arrived, when the ſyſtem of politics in the Ottoman cabinet underwent a change in conſequence of the grand viſir's depoſition. His ſucceſſor, being unfriendly to the Ruſſians, ſent a meſſage to Charles, deſiring him to come and confer with him on the meaſures to be adopted for a renewal of the war. The monarch, feeling his pride hurt by the familiarity of the invitation, yet fearing to affront the miniſter by a refuſal, feigned ſickneſs. He continued during ten months confined to his bed, treated and attended as if really ſick. At length, however, he grew weary of thoſe attentions: a life, ſo little conformable to his active diſpoſition, tired his patience, and induced him to form the reſolution of departing.

He aſked for an eſcort and a ſupply of money. The paſſports were ready, inſuring his ſafety in traveling through the different ſtates of the Germanic empire, with orders to all governors to pay him every reſpect due to his rank. But Charles had no inclination to exhibit to entire Germany the priſoner of Bender: wherefore, ſo ſoon as he was arrived on the frontier, he diſmiſſed his Turkiſh eſcort, and ſaid to his Swediſh followers, "Give yourſelves no uneaſineſs concerning my perſon: but repair with all poſſible "ſpeed to Stralſund." He took with him only

a young colonel for whom he entertained an affection, and ſet out by poſt in the uniform of a German officer. At the end of the firſt day's ride, the young officer, overpowered by fatigue, was obliged to ſtop: but Charles purſued his route through Hungary, Moravia, Auſtria, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, the Palatinate, Weſtphalia, Mecklenburg, and, after a journey of ſixteen days, arrived at midnight at the gates of Stralſund. The centinel refuſing to inform the governor of the arrival of an unknown perſon, the king threatened to have him hanged the next morning. The gates were opened: and, the ſtranger being introduced to the governor, the latter, half aſleep, aſked him whether he brought any news from the king, whoſe arrival a vague rumour taught the people to expect. "What! Ducker!" exclaimed Charles—"Have my moſt faithful ſervants for-"gotten me?"—The governor, having recogniſed his ſovereign, fell on his knees before him. The intelligence of his arrival was immediately ſpread through the whole city by the ringing of bells and the roar of artillery. The inhabitants ſtarted from their ſlumbers, embraced and congratulated each other on the joyous event. The royal traveler threw himſelf on a bed, having paſſed ſixteen nights without lying down to reſt. He ſlept a few hours, roſe, and reviewed the troops of the garriſon.

While the Swediſh monarch had remained in-

active at Bender and Demotica, his enemies had been buſily employed in attacking on every ſide his abandoned kingdom. The Danes aſſerted their ancient pretenſions: the Ruſſians ſeiſed on his provinces; Brandenburg and Hanover enlarged their boundaries at his expenſe. Auguſtus had wreſted the crown of Sweden from Staniſlaus, and replaced it on his own head. The ſenators of Stockholm were embarraſſed, and knew not how to ſtop the progreſs of invaſion. If they propoſed to treat, they were aſked what dependence could be placed on a ſenate who were enſlaved to ſuch degree that, on a certain occaſion when they had attempted to make ſome remonſtrance, Charles wrote to his chancellor, "If they prove refractory, I'll "ſend one of my boots to govern them."

No meaſures therefore could be adopted, becauſe it was certain that the beſt arguments in the world, and the moſt cogent circumſtances, were incapable of inducing that prince to accept or ratify conditions which were diſagreeable to him. While living in a ſtate of impotence at Bender, where he was only tolerated and ſupported through favour, and ſaw no probable reſource within his reach, learning that Staniſlaus wiſhed to renounce the Poliſh diadem for the ſake of enjoying peace, —"If Staniſlaus," ſaid he, "will not conſent to "be king of Poland, I muſt chooſe another." Being informed that that prince was coming to Bender for the expreſs purpoſe of requeſting him

to conſent to his renunciation, he replied to the perſon who announced to him his approach, "Run "to him, my dear Fabricius! Tell him never to "make peace with Auguſtus; and aſſure him that "our affairs will ſoon change."

Such was Charles in his greateſt diſtreſs: and, as might naturally be expected, he was doubly obſtinate when he ſaw ſome gleam of hope. He repoſed a while at Stralſund, but loſt not a moment during his ſtay, which was employed in making preparations for renewing the war with increaſed vigor. Couriers were diſpatched to all parts of his dominions, to order and expedite the levies of troops: they were made with the greateſt activity, and completed in a ſhort time. The Swedes were intoxicated by the phrenſy of glory: the young men all crowded to the ſtandards; and none remained for the labours of agriculture except the aged and the infirm, who were little qualified to ſave Sweden from a famine with which ſhe was threatened.

The enemies were appriſed, as ſoon as the Swedes, of Charles's arrival at Stralſund. All their efforts were immediately directed againſt that town, in hopes that the king would there periſh, be taken priſoner, or compelled to make peace. He ſuſtained the ſiege in perſon. The kings of Denmark and Pruſſia alſo perſonally attended, and attacked him by ſea and land. They attentively watched him; and their generals had the

ſtricteſt orders not to ſuffer him to eſcape. He performed, as uſual, prodigies of valour: and, when Stralſund was reduced to a heap of aſhes, he quitted the place accompanied by no more than nine perſons, and left to the governor the care of ſaving the reſt of the garriſon by a capitulation.

At this time Charles's ſyſtem was no longer the ſame as formerly. The baron Goertz, his miniſter, a man of a bold active genius, and fertile in reſources, had induced him to adopt a plan of warfare quite different from that which he had before purſued. He had diſcovered that the two predominant features of Charles's character were obſtinacy and the thirſt of revenge. By the former he was prompted to re-eſtabliſh Staniſlaus on the throne of Sweden; by the latter he was ſtimulated to puniſh George I, king of England and elector of Hanover, for having taken part againſt him during the ſeaſon of his misfortunes, without any other motive than the temptation to ſeiſe on his ſpoil.

Goertz repreſented to him that he would never be able to re-inſtate his favourite Staniſlaus on the throne of Sweden, while oppoſed by the czar. He therefore effected a reconciliation between his maſter and the Ruſſian. On the other hand, the miniſter ſuggeſted to Charles that it would be an un-important vengeance to diſmember the ſtates of Hanover, or even to invade the whole; and that

he ought to ſnatch the crown of England from Goerge, and reſtore it to James. To accompliſh this object, Goertz formed an alliance between Sweden and Spain, by the intervention of the cardinal Alberoni, an Italian, equally active and enterpriſing as the Swediſh miniſter.

Theſe two men, by the aid of other alliances of a ſecondary nature, and the impetuoſity of Charles XII, were preparing to overturn the ſyſtem of Europe. In the interval of preparation for that great enterpriſe, the Swediſh monarch thought proper to invade Norway, with the view of wreſting it from Denmark, and thus indemnifying himſelf for the provinces ceded to the czar. Notwithſtanding the chain of ſteep mountains which form a barrier between the two ſtates, Charles penetrated to the heart of the kingdom in the month of October when the earth was covered with ices and ſnows, and laid ſiege to Fredericſhall, a ſtrongly fortified town, on which depended the fate of Norway.

The ſeverity of the cold rendered the opening of the trenches nearly impoſſible. Charles, however, obſtinately perſevered; and the ſoldiers obeyed him with ardor, although their labour was as difficult as if they had been digging into ſolid rocks. The king animated them by his preſence. He had never been afraid of danger: but on this occaſion he expoſed himſelf to it, as if he were determined to defy death. The world has never

been able to divine what could have been his motive for remaining expoſed on the works, in the very ſpot againſt which the enemy's cannon were firing grape-ſhot, unleſs perhaps it were the pleaſure of reſiſting the entreaties of thoſe around him that he would retire. The laſt meſſenger ſent to him by his generals whom he had diſmiſſed to ſome diſtance, found him ſtretched on the parapet, with his hand inſtinctively placed on the hilt of his ſword. A ball had pierced his head. Charles periſhed in the thirty-ſixth year of his age—four years older than Alexander the Great, whom he had choſen for his model. He was never married, nor was he known to keep a miſtreſs. If he ever allowed himſelf any indulgence with the ſex, as it is pretended that he did, it was never any thing more than a ſoldier-like indulgence, of a tranſient and indelicate nature.

After his death, the Swediſh crown was conferred on his ſiſter Ulrica-Eleonora, wife to the prince of Heſſe. There was no election: ſhe aſſumed the ſceptre as hereditary: but the ſenate made ſome conditions, which emancipated that aſſembly from the ſtate of ſubjection in which it had been held by Charles. They attributed not ſo much to the king himſelf the proud oppreſſion which he had exerciſed, as to his miniſter Goertz, who was equally haughty toward the ſubjects as ſupple before his maſter. The ſenators concealed their reſentment during the life of Charles: but, Ulrica Eleonora, A.D. 1719.

ſo ſoon as he had ceaſed to exiſt, Goertz atoned by the loſs of his head for his paſt influence, and for the imperious and arbitrary uſe which he had made of it. Eleonora, by accepting the propoſed conditions which reſtored ſome equilibrium to the government, pleaſed the nation, and obtained the aſſociation of her huſband with herſelf on the throne.

Frederic, A.D. 1720.

The condition in which Sweden is deſcribed to us at the acceſſion of Ulrica and her huſband makes us ſhudder and calls forth our lamentations for the fate of kingdoms governed by princes who are infatuated by a paſſion for war. All the veteran ſoldiers, the ſtrength of armies, had diſappeared, being either killed or captured by the enemy. None remained but young recruits, raw and inexperienced in the profeſſion of arms, and who had not the opportunity of acquiring military ſkill from the ſuperintendence and example of Charles. The people groaned under the burden of oppreſſive taxes. The country was deſtitute both of money and credit: commerce was ruined, induſtry unnerved, the marine deſtroyed. Entire provinces were covered with ruins. In one irruption, the Ruſſians burned five hundred hamlets and twenty-eight pariſhes, for the ſole purpoſe of forcing the government to conſent to ſuch conditions as they thought fit to propoſe. This cogent reaſoning had its effect: Frederic yielded every thing which the czar deſired, and purchaſed peace on thoſe terms. He obtained it alſo from

the other belligerant powers: after which, like ſkilful phyſicians, he and his wife began to re-eſtabliſh the health of the ſtate by mild remedies adapted to circumſtances. But there exiſted an internal defect, a refractory and oppoſing element, which impeded the ſucceſs of their operations. The ſenate, too proud of the power which they had regained, became jealous, and almoſt on every occaſion thwarted the king's wiſhes. Frederic ſtood in need of all his prudence and moderation—eſpecially after the death of his wife Ulrica, who was much beloved by the nation—to ſupport his authority and procure a ſettlement of the ſucceſſion, without diſturbances. Adolphus-Frederic, of the houſe of Holſtein, a near kinſman to the deceaſed queen, was nominated hereditary prince.

Adolphus-Frederic, 1751.

The long reigns of Frederic and Adolphus-Frederic, though as peaceable as it was in their power to render them, were however not free from troubles. Factions aroſe, whoſe vulgar appellations, which became the watch-words of an entire nation, ought not to ſurpriſe the French. Thoſe factions were called the "Hats," and the "Caps." The Hats were attached to the royal prerogative, and wiſhed to re-eſtabliſh the adminiſtration of government on the footing on which it had ſtood under the reigns of Charles XI, Guſtavus-Adolphus, and Charles-Guſtavus. They were known to be favoured by the king and his

council: and the nobles and clergy ſided with this party. The Caps entertained ſentiments directly contrary, and were warm advocates for the privileges of the ſenate. With theſe were united the principal burghers, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed members of the order of the peaſants. There was alſo a third party, called the "Hunting-caps," conſiſting of individuals from all the different claſſes. Theſe fluttered between the two other factions, and, by their acceſſion or defection, gave to or took from either party a preponderant influence.

The ſenate, little repreſſed by Frederic, and ſtill leſs reſtrained by the feeble Adolphus-Frederic, had aſſumed a ſway which often proved mortifying to the monarchs. By dint of remonſtrances, and of oppoſition to the royal will in matters which ſeemed to intereſt the welfare of the people, the ſenate had acquired a degree of credit which rendered the Caps predominant. Thoſe monarchs had been forced to abandon to popular juſtice or vengeance valuable generals and envied miniſters, whoſe zeal for the ſupport of the regal authority had given offence. Adolphus had no otherwiſe been able to ſave ſome of theſe objects of ſenatorial jealouſy than by threatening to abdicate the crown if people continued to teaſe him; a meaſure which would have thrown the kingdom into dreadful confuſion. The ſenate appeaſed the king by ſome politic conceſſions. The party of the Hats had

not the ſkill to avail themſelves of the aſcendency which the king gained in a general diet which he convoked. They conſtituted a majority in that aſſembly: but, as they had no fixed plan, as they knew not on what to determine, and as the opinion of one day was diſcarded on the next, the meeting was of no ſervice to the king. That prince, diſtinguiſhed for candor, and endued with a beneficence and a goodneſs of heart which cauſe his memory to be revered to this day, left the crown, at his death, to his ſon Guſtavus, who had already felt its thorns.

That prince was traveling in foreign countries, leſs prompted by motives of curioſity, than by a wiſh to avoid being a witneſs of the mortifications experienced by his father—mortifications which the vivacity of his youthful age would not have ſuffered him to endure ſo patiently. The death of his father was announced to him in France. He immediately departed, and traverſed Germany with rapid ſpeed. His perſonal appearance firſt announced his arrival at Stockholm, where he was received with the moſt lively acclamations of joy. Guſtavus III A.D. 1771.

The conduct which he purſued after his acceſſion ſoon endeared him to the people. He gave audience twice a week, and liſtened to the meaneſt of his ſubjects with the dignity of a ſovereign and the tenderneſs of a father. He ſuffered no indication to eſcape him which could encourage the idea of his harbouring a deſign againſt the conſti-

tution. Yet people ſurmiſed that ſuch was his view, becauſe, notwithſtanding the impartiality which he affected, his favourites were all ſelected from the faction of the Hats. The Caps laboured to ſtrengthen their own party in the diet which was held at the commencement of his reign: and they took their meaſures ſo judiciouſly that they became the dictators of the aſſembly. The great majority which they had in it emboldened them to proceed to ſteps which betrayed the project entertained by ſome of the principal among them. It aimed at nothing leſs than to perpetuate themſelves in the office of ſenators by confining the dignity to a few families, and perhaps to change the monarchy to a pure ariſtocracy.

The nobles who were not included in the number of the privileged families took the alarm. One of them waited on the youthful monarch and ſaid to him—"All is loſt, unleſs you adopt the "moſt efficacious meaſures to overthrow the ty-"ranny by which you are menaced." Thoſe meaſures were concerted in a ſecret council conſiſting of very few perſons. It was thought neceſſary in the firſt inſtance to agitate the public mind, and to engage the general attention by exciting commotions in ſome provinces. An extraordinary dearth of proviſions ſucceeded, which was imputed to the inattention and negligence of the ſenate. Murmurs and complaints echoed through the whole kingdom; while poſted emiſ-

faries every-where ſaid to the mal-contents—"Run to Stockholm: apply to Guſtavus: he will "relieve you."

The ſenators clearly perceived that it was the Hat party who turned againſt them the public complaints. The miſunderſtanding between the king and the ſenate, without breaking forth into open rupture, manifeſted itſelf by alarming preparations. The king had ſurrounded his perſon with a guard of a hundred and fifty bravoes, who never quitted him. The ſenate had ſeiſed the ſtrong poſts of Stockholm, and nominated, as governor of the city, a man entirely devoted to them. They had alſo taken care that the principal officers of the army ſhould be Caps. Without caſhiering thoſe who were ſuſpected of attachment to the king, they removed them from their reſpective corps under pretext of various ſervices; inſomuch that the ſenatorial aſſembly could be certain of collecting around them the different regiments whenever they choſe to command their attendance.

But a captain, by name Hellichius, pretended to revolt, and rendered himſelf maſter of Chriſtianſtadt, the moſt important fortreſs in the kingdom. This event ſerved as a pretence for the king to aſſemble five regiments. He placed his brother Charles at their head, ſeemed much afflicted by the rebellion, and eagerly embraced all the expedients ſuggeſted by the ſenate for the pre-

vention of its conſequences. As there exiſted a ſecret ferment in the capital, Guſtavus, perambulating the ſtreets with his eſcort, exhibited himſelf to the people under an external appearance the moſt ſeductive, flattering and careſſing every perſon whom he met. He accompanied the patrols: and in a ſhort time thoſe men who had been armed by the ſenate became the moſt faithful partiſans of the monarch. The ſenate, who were witneſſes of that ſeduction, and apprehenſive of its conſequences, ſent for other regiments, being determined to cauſe the king to be arreſted as ſoon as they ſhould be arrived.

Guſtavus learned that they were to enter Stockholm on the nineteenth of Auguſt 1772: and he formed the reſolution, on his part, of recovering his authority, or periſhing in the attempt. Early in the morning of that day, he ſent for all the Hats whom he thought attached to his perſon. Before ten o'clock he was on horſeback, and reviewed the regiment of artillery. He went about the ſtreets, and ſhowed himſelf more civil than uſual. On returning to the palace, he took the officers, commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned, into the guard-houſe, ſhut himſelf up with them, and, in an energetic ſpeech, declared that his life and the ſtate were in danger. "Will you be faithful "to me," he added, "as you have been faithful "to Guſtavus Vaſa and Guſtavus Adolphus? and "I will riſque my life for your welfare and that of

" my country."—A gloomy ſilence prevailing through the whole aſſembly, " What!" exclaimed the king quite aſtoniſhed—" Nobody anſwers " me?"—" Yes!" replied a young officer—" We " will follow you. Is there any man among us " ſufficiently baſe to abandon his king?"—Theſe words decided the buſineſs: and each individual preſent was now eager to give the king aſſurances of his fidelity.

The officers were ordered to aſſemble the ſoldiers. Guſtavus advanced toward their body without ſhowing the leaſt uneaſineſs, addreſſed them in the ſame ſtyle as he had ſpoken to the officers, and obtained equal ſucceſs. He had taken care to poſt a detachment at the gate of the place where the ſenators were aſſembled, to prevent them from going out and giving orders. Meanwhile his emiſſaries induſtriouſly publiſhed through the city that the king was arreſted. This report attracted to the palace a crowd of people, who, ſeeing the monarch ſafe and at liberty, teſtified their joy by repeated acclamations.

The ſenators, ſtruck with the noiſe, and obſerving the tumult from the windows, attempted to ſend ſome of their members to gain intelligence of what was paſſing. But a body of thirty grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, oppoſed their egreſs, ſignifying to them that it was his majeſty's pleaſure that they ſhould remain where they were: and, for greater ſecurity, the gates were locked upon them.

Guſtavus paraded the ſtreets, and was every-where received with applauſe. He ordered the city-gates to be ſhut, and ſent to the troops on their march, who were now not more than a league diſtant, an order in the ſenate's name to return to their former ſtations. As the commanding officers were ignorant of the tranſactions in the city, they ſuppoſed the order to have really come from the ſenate, and immediately obeyed it. With the ſame facility the king rendered himſelf maſter of all the poſts, and obliged all the people to take a new oath of allegiance to him. On the following day he repaired to the ſenate whom he had kept confined during the whole night, and read to them the plan of a new form of government, which he had ready prepared. All the members, even the moſt zealous of the Hat party, ſigned it without heſitation. It veſted the king with a power of convoking, proroguing, and diſſolving the diet at his pleaſure: it excluſively conferred on him the command of the terreſtrial and maritime forces of the kingdom, the management of the finances, the nomination to all employs, civil and military. It did not expreſsly ordain that the king ſhould have a right to impoſe new taxes; but it provided that thoſe which already exiſted ſhould be perpetual, and that, in caſe of hoſtile invaſion or other urgent neceſſity, the monarch might augment them at his diſcretion until there ſhould be an opportunity of aſſembling a diet. Finally it decreed that the

diet itſelf ſhould not deliberate except upon ſuch matters as were laid before it by the king.

This conſtitution was ſent into the different provinces, and every-where received without murmur and without oppoſition. Thus a king at the age of twenty-ſix, by his policy and intrepidity, effected in one hour, and accompliſhed without ſhedding a ſingle drop of blood, the ſame kind of revolution which had coſt Guſtavus Vaſa and Charles XI ſo much trouble and care.

But his reign, which had been diſtinguiſhed by ſo brilliant a commencement, was terminated by a premature and tragic end. Thoſe of the nobles who had with regret ſeen themſelves deprived of the part which they had borne in the government, did not pardon Guſtavus for his ſucceſs. They conſtantly thwarted him in the armies, as likewiſe in the diets which he was obliged to convoke for the purpoſe of obtaining ſubſidies. After a victory gained over the Ruſſians, and at a moment when Guſtavus might have penetrated to Peterſburg, his principal officers refuſed to ſecond his valour. Their diſobedience was but ſlightly puniſhed; and the king's indulgence on this occaſion emboldened the mal-contents to concert more dangerous plots.

A party was formed among them, determined to proceed to the moſt daring lengths in embarraſſing the king, and cauſing his projects to miſcarry. Their efforts, however, proved unſucceſsful: and, in a diet aſſembled at Geſle in January 1792, he

obtained every thing that he desired, through the preponderancy of the order of burghers and that of the peasants, who did justice to the monarch's good intentions. The clergy remained neuter.

Among the faction of nobles irritated by the king's successes—a faction burning with ardent hatred—were some young men, who, hurried away by that impetuosity which is the usual concomitant of their age, thought that no time was to be lost in setting bounds to the king's encroachments, and they could not hesitate respecting the means to be employed against him, without incurring the risque of seeing his pretensions rise still higher. In this disposition of mind they assembled, and agreed to take away his life. Three of them drew lots to determine who should strike the blow; and, to use the words of the historian, "fate, which had marked out Ankerstroem to "be a regicide, conferred on him the dreadful "favour."

For some time he sought an opportunity without being able to find it. At length he conceived that a favourable occasion was presented by a ball which was to take place on the sixteenth of March 1792. The king was very fond of such amusements. At the moment when he was going to it, he received a note delivered to one of his pages by an unknown hand, containing the following words—"I am yet "your friend, though I have reason to be no "longer so. Do not go to the ball to-night:

"your life is at ſtake." The monarch ſhowed theſe lines to a nobleman who accompanied him. The latter urged his majeſty to abſtain from going to the ball, or at leaſt to ſecure himſelf with a coat of mail. "Let us go," ſaid Guſtavus with a ſmile, "and ſee whether they will dare to aſſaſſi-"nate me." He entered the hall: a confuſed crowd ſurrounded him: a piſtol-ſhot was heard, of which the exploſion was almoſt ſtifled: he fell, crying, "I am wounded." The wound proved mortal: nor could the goodneſs of his conſtitution, the aſſiſtance of the medical art, and the wiſhes of his ſubjects, reſcue him from death.

Thus periſhed Guſtavus III, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, with the reputation of a warrior equally brave and intelligent, of a wiſe governor, and a ſkilful politician. It is thought that he was preparing to take an active part in the troubles of Europe; and much was expected from his courage and prudence. Guſtavus was a paſſionate *amateur* of the fine arts, was chearful, affable, obliging. But his good qualities were not, in the minds of the conſpirators, able to preponderate over their deſire of avenging their country, which they conceived to be oppreſſed. The regicide Ankerſtroem was moreover impelled by perſonal pique. He was only a lieutenant in the guards: a circumſtance which proves the truth of the obſervation that there is no enemy too mean to deſerve notice. He was puniſhed with a death of the utmoſt ſeverity.

His two accomplices were only baniſhed; which lenity was perhaps granted becauſe one of them, ſtung probably by remorſe, had written to the king the note that ought to have prevented him from expoſing himſelf to the danger of which he was forewarned. However good a ſovereign may be, he cannot flatter himſelf with the idea of having no enemies: and the unfortunate cataſtrophe of Guſtavus is one of the many examples furniſhed by hiſtory of the peril which princes incur by neglecting, through real ſecurity or an affected oſtentation of intrepidity, the informations given to them of meditated plots or conſpiracies, from whatever hand ſuch warnings may come to them.

END OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME.

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